THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXV *January 1951* NUMBER 1

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXV *January 1951* NUMBER 1

Published by the Society and Issued to Members

CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE, *Honorary President*
FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D., *President*

LeRoy E. Kimball . . . . . *First Vice-President*
Louis C. Wills . . . . . *Second Vice-President*
Forsyth Wickes . . . . . *Third Vice-President*
Stuyvesant Fish . . . . . *Fourth Vice-President*
Archer M. Huntington . . . . . *Foreign Corresponding Secretary*
William T. Van Alstyne . . . . . *Domestic Corresponding Secretary*
DeWitt M. Lockman . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
Thomas W. Streeter . . . . . *Treasurer*

Term Ending 1951
George A. Zabriskie
Charles E. Dunlap
Lewis Gouverneur Morris

Term Ending 1952
John V. Irwin
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.

Term Ending 1953
Henry O. Havemeyer
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Hall Park McCullough

Term Ending 1954
Irving S. Olds

STANDING COMMITTEES

On Building
Henry O. Havemeyer
Charles E. Dunlap
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.

On Membership
John V. Irwin
William T. Van Alstyne

On Lectures
John V. Irwin
Lewis Gouverneur Morris

On Library
LeRoy E. Kimball
Stuyvesant Fish
Thomas W. Streeter
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.

On Fine Arts
Forsyth Wickes
DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A.
Henry O. Havemeyer
Hall Park McCullough

On Nominations
Henry O. Havemeyer
Charles E. Dunlap
Irving S. Olds

On Finance
Thomas W. Streeter
LeRoy E. Kimball
William T. Van Alstyne
Forsyth Wickes

On Museum
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Archer M. Huntington
Lewis Gouverneur Morris

On Plan & Scope
Irving S. Olds
LeRoy E. Kimball
Forsyth Wickes
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Henry O. Havemeyer

On Publications
LeRoy E. Kimball
Thomas W. Streeter
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.

On Law
Louis C. Wills
Forsyth Wickes
Irving S. Olds

Ex-Officio, All Committees
Dr. Beekman (President)
Mr. Streeter (Treasurer)
Mr. Vail (Secretary to the Board)

DIRECTOR . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL
Assistant Director . . . . . Alexander J. Wall, Jr.

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Librarian . . . . . Dorothy C. Barck
Curator of the Museum . . . . . Richard J. Koke
Editor . . . . . Charles E. Baker
Supervisor of Education and Public Relations . . . . . Alexander J. Wall, Jr.
Superintendent of Buildings . . . . . Garrett H. Winter

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXV JANUARY 1951 NUMBER 1

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*
ROBERTA LEIGHTON, *Assistant Editor*

CONTENTS

First New York State Mug Book . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL 5

Account Books (1790–1834) of Ezra Ames . IRWIN F. CORTELYOU and THEODORE BOLTON 15

Erie Canal: Mother of Cities . . . . . BLAKE MCKELVEY 55

125th Anniversary of . . . the Erie Canal . . DOROTHY C. BARCK 72
Checklist of Views and Maps on Display . ARTHUR B. CARLSON 80

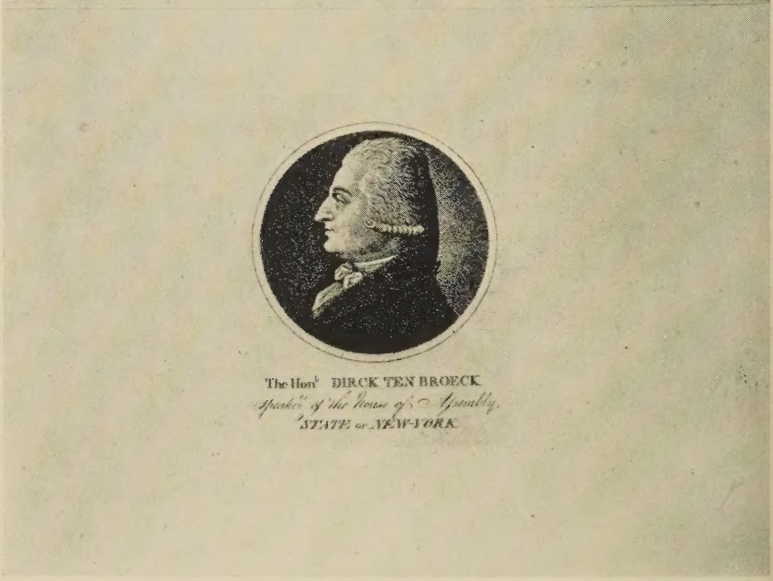
McKim, Mead and White: New York's Own Architects
WAYNE ANDREWS 87

Book Reviews and Notices:
Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D. 97
Gard, *Frontier Justice* . . . . . GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE 98
Larsen, *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China*
ARTHUR H. MERRITT 100
A Quartette of Indian and Frontier Books: . . R. W. G. VAIL 101
Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*
Smith, *Martyrs of The Oblong and Little Nine*
Bishop, *Champlain, the Life of Fortitude*
Speck and General, *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House*
Mack, *Peter Cooper: Citizen of New York*
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS 103
Green, *Great Sodus Bay . . . and the Environing Regions. . . .*
R. W. G. VAIL 106
Van Rensselaer, *Livingston Family in America. . . .*
EDNA HUNTINGTON 107

Activities of the Society 108

Recent Accessions 110

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE
FOR STATEMENTS IN SIGNED ARTICLES



His Excel.y Gov.r [John] Jay His Hon.r L.t Gov.r [Stephen] V.[an] Rensselaer

The Hon.b Dirck Ten Broeck/Speaker of the House of Assembly,/State of New-York

PLATES ONE AND TWO OF A SET OF EIGHT PLATES, 1798, OF STIPPLE ENGRAVINGS OF THE 21ST SESSION OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Here reproduced from the originals for the first time and for the first time tentatively attributed to Isaac Hutton

The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY
January 1951
VOLUME XXXV NUMBER ONE
New York: 170 Central Park West

THE FIRST NEW YORK STATE MUG BOOK: PORTRAITS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1798

by R. W. G. Vail

A MUG BOOK, gentle reader, is a volume of portraits of more or less prominent citizens, gathered together for their glorification and generally at their expense. For many years the Legislature of our Empire State inspired such a collection which began as an album of engravings, then of photographs and finally as the familiar *New York Red Book*. Apparently the first attempt at such a collection of portraits of our lawmakers was made in 1798 by an unknown engraver but was never completed and so never gained a wide circulation. This portfolio is of considerable importance since it includes portraits of 57 New Yorkers of some local prominence in their day, most of whose pictures have not come down to us in any other form. Since our Library now owns what is probably the only complete set and since the portraits have never been accurately reproduced direct from the originals,

we have decided to publish them for the information of our readers and in hopes that they may be able to tell us more about these rather delightful old stipple profiles.

Apparently the engraver set out to prepare an album or portfolio of all of the members of the 21st session (January 2 to April 6, 1798) of the New York Legislature. Having secured sittings from Governor John Jay, whose signature was required for the passage of bills, Lieutenant Governor Stephen Van Rensselaer, who presided *ex officio* over the Senate, and Speaker Dirck Ten Broeck, he began work on the legislators. He had secured portraits of 14 of the 40 Senators and the Speaker and 40 of the 108 members of the House when his work was brought to an abrupt end, probably by the adjournment of the Legislature and the consequent scattering of his subjects. At any rate, the project was abandoned with only part of the portraits finished and without the engraved title page which one would expect to find with such a collection. At least we *believe* that the undertaking was given up, since only eight plates of the series have survived.

These eight stipple engravings on copper (measuring about 11 x 9 inches) were probably given a very limited circulation, since the series was never completed. One set was given by "D.F." (probably Douw I. Fonda, Assemblyman from Saratoga County whose portrait appears on the fourth plate) to his friend Rev. Uzal Ogden who, in turn, presented it to Mr. John Pintard, Founder of our Society, who gave the engravings to our Library in 1807. Either this set was incomplete or lost a plate during the years and we have only now secured the missing plate from the only other partial set now known. This second set, which includes the Speaker and three plates of Assemblymen, belongs to our fellow member Mr. Harry Shaw Newman, who very generously allowed us to secure from his partial set the one plate we needed to make our set complete.

Another complete set of these plates was destroyed in the State Library fire of 1911. It had been given to the State in 1850 by General Stephen Van Rensselaer whose portrait, as Lieutenant

SENATORS

Mr. [Ezra] L'Hommedieu
Southern Dt
Mr. [Peter] Cantine [, Jr.]
Middle Dt
Mr. [William] Thompson
Middle Dt
Mr. [Thomas R.] Gold
Western Dt
Mr. [Peter] Silvester
Middle Dt
Mr. [Jedediah] Sanger
Western Dt
Mr. [Samuel] Jones
Southern Dt
Mr. [James G.] Graham
Middle Dt
Mr. [Seth] Phelps
Western Dt

Governor, appears with that of Governor Jay in the first plate. They are described in the Library's report for that year as "contained on several sheets, now framed."† It was this set which was

† Information from Miss Edna L. Jacobsen.

reproduced in the *Documentary History of the State of New York* (quarto edition), Volume IV, 1851, p. 615 and 616, but, except for the first two plates, these lithographic copies are so crude as to be caricatures and in some cases bear no resemblance to the originals.

It is obvious from a glance at these attractive little engravings that they are made by the method brought to perfection by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin (1770–1852) during his life in America, 1793–1814. But they are too crude to have been his work* or that of his associate Valdenuit who left America about 1797 and so could not have done our series. It is possible that they were engraved by Lewis Le Met (or Lemet), who was a pupil of Saint-Mémin's and who removed to Albany where he married and continued as an engraver until 1829. But his work was better than that of our unknown artist and he apparently was not in Albany before 1805. An even better guess would be Abner Reed (1771–1866) a Connecticut stipple engraver of portraits who was at work in Lansingburg, near Albany, from 1794 to 1797 but who appears to have left for New York in that year and to have returned to Hartford at least by 1803. So he was not available for such a series in Albany in the year 1798. However, the firm of Isaac and George Hutton, silversmiths and jewelers, was in Albany during this period and either Isaac Hutton or Gideon Fairman (1774–1827), an engraver in their employ, might have engraved the portraits of the Legislature. Isaac Hutton was one of the engravers of *A New History of the Grecian States*, Lansingburgh, 1794, a copy of which is in the State Library. His technique is just about the same as that of our unknown engraver according to Mr. Joseph Gavit who has made the comparison for us. We are therefore inclined, until better evidence appears, to assign this series of Legislative portraits to Isaac Hutton of Albany.

* The portrait of Senator Peter Silvester on the third plate was incorrectly attributed to Saint-Mémin by Clarence S. Bowen in his *History of the Centennial of the Inauguration of Washington*, 1892, p. 123. Silvester was a member of the New York delegation to the first Congress under the Constitution.

SENATORS & ASSEMBLYMEN

Mr. [Jacob] Morris
Western Dt
Mr. [Nathaniel] Ogden
Albany Cy
Mr. [George] Warner
New-York Cy

Mr. [Joseph] White
Western Dt
Mr. [Leonard] Gansevoort
Eastern Dt
Mr. [John] Howard
Suffolk Cy

Mr. [Abraham] Van Vechten
Eastern Dt
Mr. [David] Gelston
Southern Dt
Mr. [Douw I.] Fonda
Saratoga Cy

I am indebted to Miss Edna L. Jacobsen and Mr. Joseph Gavit of the New York State Library and to Miss Elizabeth E. Roth of the New York Public Library as well as to Stauffer and Fielding's *American Engravings on Copper and Steel* for information used in the above notes.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr. [James] Hildreth
Montgomery Cy
Mr. [John] Bird
Rensselaer Cy
Mr. [Benjamin] Hovey
Tioga Cy

Mr. [Daniel] Mason
Washington Cy
Mr. [Elisha] Jenkins
Columbia Cy
Mr. N.[athan] Smith
Herkimer Cy

Mr. [Francis] Henry
Otsego Cy
Mr. [William] Denning
New-York Cy
Mr. [Isaac] Foot
Herkimer Cy

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr. [Timothy] Morse
Otsego Cy

Mr. [Lemuel] Clift
Dutchess Cy

Mr. [Amos] Hall
Ontario Cy

Mr. [Henry] McNiel [McNeal]
Herkimer Cy

Mr. [Jacob A.] Fort
Rensselaer Cy

Mr. J.[ohn] C. Hogeboom
Columbia Cy

Mr. [Andrew N.] Heermance
Albany Cy

Mr. [Jonathan] Hoag
Rensselaer Cy

Mr. [John] Thomas
Dutchess Cy

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr. [Charles] Williamson
Ontario Cy
Mr. [Silas] Wood
Suffolk Cy
Mr. [Robert] McFarland
[McFarlan]
Montgomery Cy

Mr. [Joshua] Dewey
Otsego Cy
Mr. [Luther] Holly
Dutchess Cy
Mr. [Jacob] De la Montagnie
New-York Cy

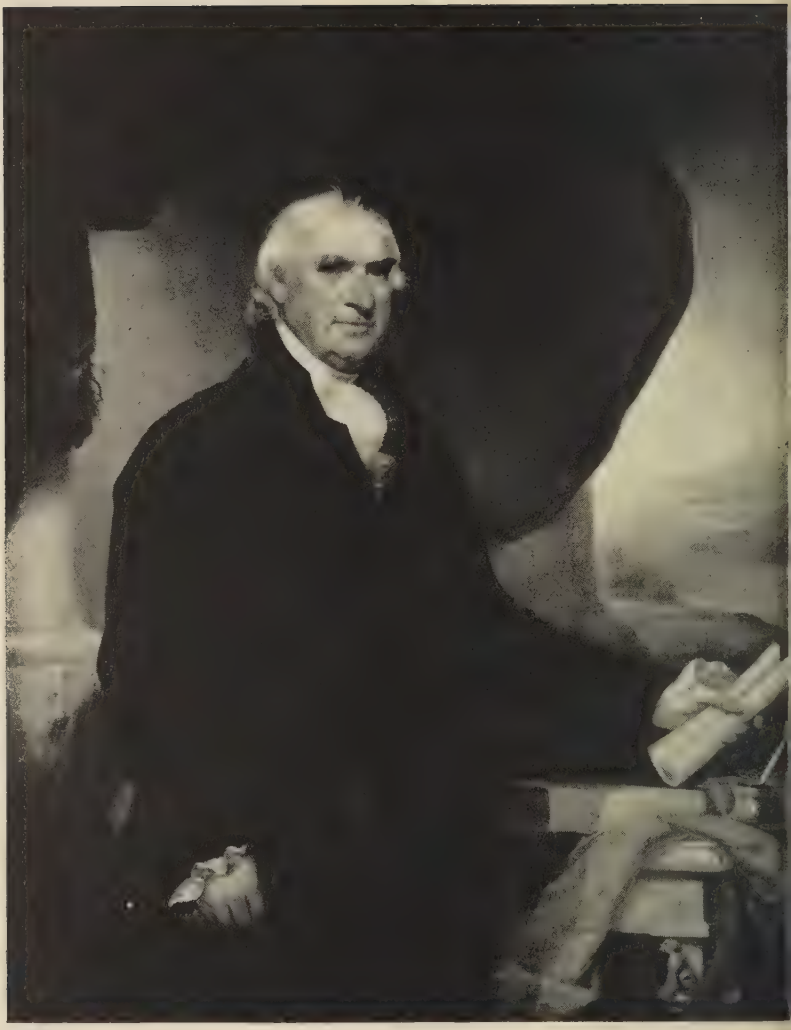
Mr. [Benjamin] Bowen
Herkimer Cy
Mr. [Gaylord] Griswold
Herkimer Cy
Mr. [John] Prince
Albany Cy

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr. [Elijah] Holt
Otsego Cy
Mr. [Philip J.] Schuyler
Dutchess Cy
Mr. K.[illian] Hogeboom
Columbia Cy

Mr. [Phineas] Bowman
Ulster Cy
Mr. [Philip] Van Alstyne
Montgomery Cy
Mr. [Caleb] Benton
Columbia Cy

Mr. [William B.] Verplank
[Verplanck]
Dutchess Cy
Mr. [DeWitt] Clinton
New-York Cy
Mr. [Matthew] Brown
Herkimer Cy



GEORGE CLINTON (1739–1812)

By Ezra Ames, 1814

[Now correctly dated from Ames's Albany Institute Account Book]

Gift of George Clinton Tallmadge, his great-grandson, 1858, to The New-York Historical Society

REFERENCES TO PAINTINGS IN THE ACCOUNT BOOKS (1790–1834) OF EZRA AMES

by Irwin F. Cortelyou *and* Theodore Bolton

EZRA AMES (1768–1836), portrait painter of Albany, left three manuscript Account Books which date from 1790 through 1834 and therefore span virtually his entire professional career. In them, he records those paintings, and other work, for which he was not immediately paid. These references to his paintings, though an incomplete record, exceed in number the whole body of his otherwise-known work. Even the Account Book entries which relate to already known paintings add considerably to our knowledge of them. It is obvious, then, that these manuscripts are important sources for the study of one of the most significant artists active in New York State during the first third of the 19th century, one whose work has artistic as well as wide historic interest. Like many of the early American painters, little has been written about either this artist or his work.

Two of the Account Books kept by Ames, covering intermittently the earlier and shorter period between May 1790 and October 1802, have been for many years in the possession of The New-York Historical Society. The third and latest Account Book covering the more than thirty years from May 4, 1804, to December 28, 1834, while the artist's productivity was at its height, was presented by an anonymous donor to the Albany Institute of History and Art as recently as November 1946. Four times as contributive of new material on the artist's work as the earlier two Account Books combined, this important manuscript has not hitherto been published either in full or in part. By courtesy of the Board of Directors of the Albany Institute and its Director, Mr. Robert G. Wheeler, permission has been granted to the writers to publish under the auspices of The New-York Historical Society numerous extracts from this new material, including all references by the artist to his own paintings.

The two earliest of Ames's Account Books relate to work done during his youthful residence (1790–1793) at or near Worcester, Massachusetts, as well as to his early efforts (1793–1802) in the environs of his chosen home, Albany, New York. The material in these two Account Books was first drawn upon by Miss Dorothy C. Barck for her article on the artist in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* of January 1927; more recently, by Mr. Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., for an alphabetical list of portraits and of "fancy" subjects by Ames mentioned in these two Account Books, in *Art in America* of October 1942; later, by Mr. E. T. Reid for his article on the artist's Masonic activities in *The Royal Arch Mason* of March 1943; and finally, by Mr. Robert G. Wheeler for his article on the artist and his work in the *American Collector* of August 1947. In none of these articles is there a full transcript of the entries relating to the artist's paintings.

The extracts at the end of this essay are full transcripts of all the original entries in which Ezra Ames referred to his own easel paintings and miniatures in all three of his Account Books. By "original entries" is meant the first recorded entries without later notations or marks of cancellation indicating payment. These extracts include the many hitherto unpublished entries taken from the third Account Book at the Albany Institute as well as those already drawn upon from the two earlier books.

The Account Books contain by no means a complete record of Ames's paintings. As will be seen from the table (page 18) and the accompanying text explaining the tentative nature of the totals presented, there are at least 195 extant or previously located paintings known or believed to have been executed by Ames. Only 28 of these can, at the present time, be related by the writers definitely or tentatively to any of the paintings recorded in the three Account Books. The absence of the remaining 167 extant or previously located paintings from the Account Book entries supports the inference that, except for a few references to expenses or to cash sales in the first two manuscripts, all three of

Ames's Account Books are records of accounts receivable only. Moreover, the almost invariable appearance of the abbreviation "Dr" (for debtor) in each entry, as well as the bookkeeping phraseology and system of entry, points strongly to the conclusion that Ames recorded in his Account Books only those items, including his paintings, for which he had not received payment in full upon delivery.

The total number of paintings listed in the three Account Books is approximately 229. Of these about 40 are listed in the two earlier manuscripts and have thus for many years been included among the recorded paintings by Ames. None of the 40 has as yet been located. In the third Account Book approximately 189 paintings are listed and of these 28, as previously mentioned, have been definitely or tentatively identified. The remaining 161 paintings recorded in the third book are still unlocated.

Breaking down the total number of 229 paintings recorded in the three Account Books into classifications according to subject matter: the earlier two Account Books, at The New-York Historical Society, contain references to 9 portraits in oil, 30 portraits in miniature, and one painting of a lion; and the third Account Book, at the Albany Institute, contains references to 173 portraits in oil, 3 in miniature, 3 landscapes, 6 still-life pictures, and 4 pictures of miscellaneous subjects.

At present the approximate total of the located and unlocated paintings, both easel paintings and miniatures, including all those recorded in the three Account Books, is 396. Of this grand total, the two Account Books at The New-York Historical Society are the sole source of 40 and the third Account Book at the Albany Institute of History and Art is the sole source of somewhere near 161. And these 161 subjects have not previously been included among either the known or the recorded paintings of Ezra Ames. This numerical approximation is within three or four pictures which will presently be discussed.

The statistics discussed above are summarized in the table following. This table includes all the easel paintings and minia-

TENTATIVE TOTALS OF PAINTINGS BY EZRA AMES

EASEL PAINTINGS AND MINIATURES ONLY

Source of Statistics	*Whether Located or Not*	*Ports. in Oil*	*Miniatures*	*Landscapes*	*Still Life*	*Miscel. Subjects*	*Totals*
1. Third Account Book	Extant or Once Located	27	0	1	0	0	28
2. Third Account Book	Unlocated*	146	3	2	6	4	161
3. Third Account Book	Located and Unlocated	173	3	3	6	4	189
4. First Two Account Books	All Unlocated*	9	30	0	0	1	40
5. All Three Account Books	Located and Unlocated	182	33	3	6	5	229
6. Not in the Account Books	Extant or Once Located	132	30	1	0	4	167
All Sources Sub-Totals Lines 1 and 6	Extant or Once Located	159	30	2	0	4	195
All Sources Sub-Totals Lines 2 and 4	Unlocated*	155	33	2	6	5	201
All Sources: Grand Totals	Located and Unlocated	314	63	4	6	9	396

January 1, 1951

Arranged by George B. Cortelyou, Jr.

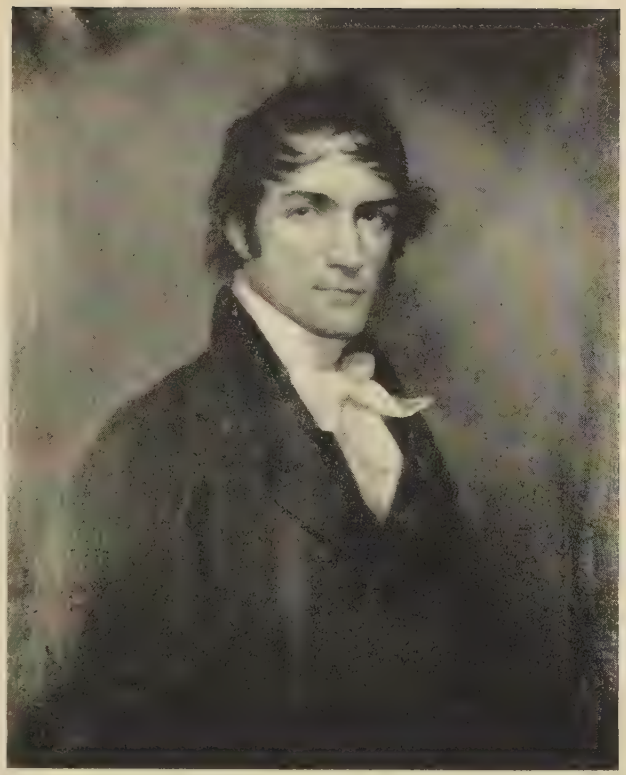
* By "unlocated" is meant neither extant nor previously located, though recorded in an Account Book.

tures by Ezra Ames which diligent search has brought to the attention of the writers. It does not include four extant drawings and one recorded drawing.

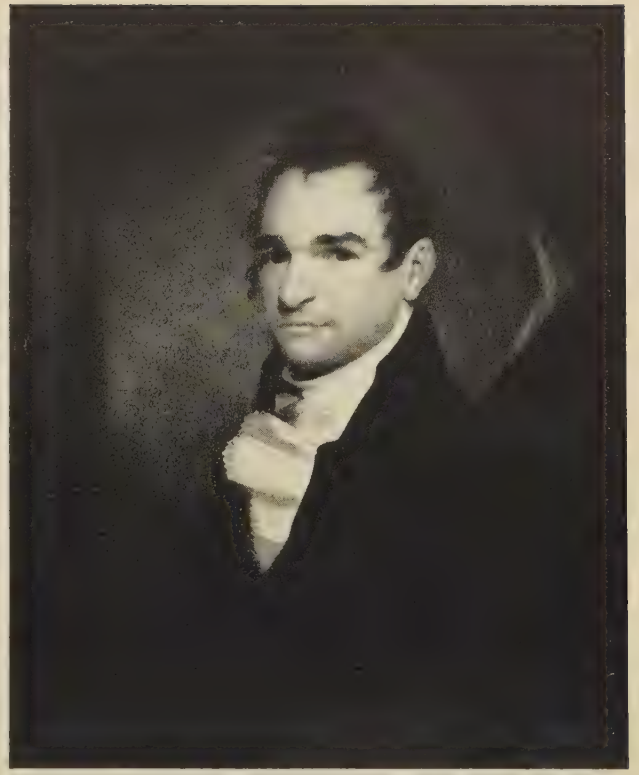
The totals presented are only tentative. Subsequent research, new-found paintings, and possible changes in attribution will undoubtedly alter most of the totals. Thus, a greater number of Account Book entries may later be related to known paintings. The discovery of more relationships of this kind would reduce the total of 396 paintings. On the other hand, the discovery of additional canvases which cannot be related to entries in the Account Books would increase the total. The increase may well be larger than the decrease.

Another reason that some of the totals must be considered as only tentative is the obscurity of several of the Account Book entries which refer to paintings. For example, one long entry presumably of 1793 records the purchase of materials for painting "pictures" *for* Major Livingston. Were these portraits *of* Major Livingston? And how many were there? It is here assumed that there were two portraits as the custom was to have companion portraits painted. Another obscure entry refers to several portraits including one of the Reverend Hooper Cumming. This entry, dated September 8, 1818, was crossed out and marked "Erat." A corrected entry under the same date was then written but did not include the name of the Reverend Mr. Cumming. It is here assumed that his portrait was not painted, although it might have been painted and the reference to it deleted from the entry because payment had been received. Two other entries, one dated 1790 and the other 1791, record miniatures for Joseph Wheeler, and it is here assumed that two miniatures were painted, although the second entry may possibly be merely a record of payment for the miniature recorded in the first.

There is a gap consisting of an unrecorded period of eighteen months from October 1802 to May 4, 1804, between the second and third Account Books; another gap in the latter book of equal length from August 26, 1822, to March 4, 1824, broken only by



HARMANUS BLEECKER (1779–1849)
By Ezra Ames, 1819
Courtesy, Harmanus Bleecker Library, Albany



ABSALOM TOWNSEND (1786–1861)
By Ezra Ames, 1816
Courtesy, Mrs. Van Santvoord Merle-Smith

[Both of these portraits have been reproduced from FARL photographs, as does the

vo entries for miscellaneous work in May 1823; and still an-
her seven years later when the aging artist seems to have painted
tle. These, however, are the only long gaps in Ames's three
ccount Books which record so much of his activity as an artist.
hese, and sixteen manuscript Expense Books (1799–1826)
wned by The New-York Historical Society, constitute the
ost important documents for establishing the record of the
tist's life and work.

The main interest in the Account Books from the standpoint
this analysis is indicated by the title, and only references to
intings which may be termed works of art are included in the
anscript of entries. Not transcribed are the many entries re-
ting to Ames's odd jobs and miscellaneous work; these too have
eir value as biographical data and as evidence of the economic
atus of early-19th-century American artists outside the metro-
olitan centers, and so will be summarized in a later section of
is essay. The entries transcribed, besides doubling the corpus
Ames's otherwise recorded work, throw considerable light
a number of his previously known paintings, and this aspect
the subject will now be discussed.

ENTRIES RELATING TO KNOWN PAINTINGS

Besides their contribution of some 161 previously unrecorded
bjects by Ames, the importance of the extracts taken from the
lbany Institute Account Book is fourfold: some of the entries
nfirm former attributions of paintings to Ames; some for the
st time establish the dates of known portraits; and still others
d in the identification of unattributed works of the artist or
ovide further documentation of authentic works already
own. By the word "known" three conditions relative to the
istence of portraits are meant: a portrait may be known only
rough an engraving, as for example the portrait of Elkanah
atson; or it may be known only by a record of its previous
cation, such as the portrait of General Solomon Van Rensselaer

painted for Delaplaine, destroyed by fire, and of N. Allen, now unlocated; or it may be an authentic and located painting.

Because of the prominence of the subject, a most interesting example of the dating and documenting of an undoubted Ames portrait by an entry in the Albany Institute Account Book is that of Governor George Clinton (1739–1812), owned by The New-York Historical Society. In the 1941 *Catalogue of American Portraits* owned by the Society the Clinton canvas is recorded as being "the portrait Ames exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in Philadelphia, 1812, and by which he achieved his first success." But the portrait there exhibited (according to a recent letter from Mrs. Barbara S. Roberts, Registrar of that institution) was purchased by the Academy for its own permanent collection soon after the exhibition. (Her letter refers to the minutes of the Board of Directors dated July 13, 1812, in which is recited the decision to make the purchase; and she further notes that this is the first purchase of a painting recorded in their minutes.) The acquisition of the portrait by the Academy is confirmed in a review of its Third Annual Exhibition (1813) in *Portfolio* for August 1813, page 127. Thereafter the portrait is listed in most of the catalogues of the annual exhibitions of the Academy up to 1845 when the Academy building burned. Since the portrait has not been found listed in later exhibition catalogues and cannot otherwise be accounted for by the Academy, it was presumably lost in the fire. It is therefore difficult to suppose that this was the portrait acquired by George Clinton Tallmadge and presented by him to The New-York Historical Society in 1858 as stated in the 1941 *Catalogue* of the Society.

There is, on the other hand, very strong reason to think that George Clinton Tallmadge (whose family name is also spelled Talmadge) acquired a portrait painted by Ames of his great-grandfather, George Clinton, for his grandfather, Mathias B. Talmadge, which was recorded by Ames in his Account Book under the date of May 1814, as follows: "Mathias B. Talmadge Esq^{r} D^{r} To Painting a half length Portrait of the late Vice presi-

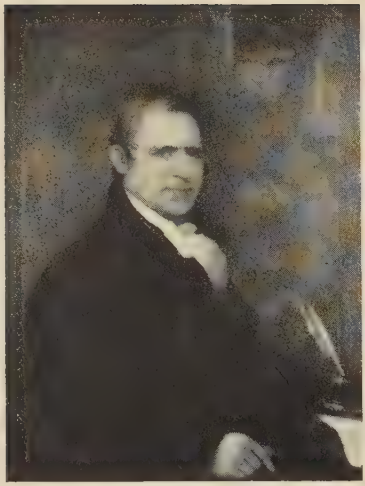
dent George Clinton"; and further that it was this 1814 portrait —not the one exhibited in 1812—that George Clinton Tallmadge presented to The New-York Historical Society.

Another instance of a portrait which can be dated and identified as to the artist by reference to the Account Book is that of Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804), at Union College, Schenectady. The portrait has a history to fit the entry in Ames's Account Book dated April 25, 1810, listing a portrait of Alexander Hamilton as charged to Elijah Thomas and delivered to Dr. C. C. Yates. In the *Union College Portrait Index* (June 1950), numbered 103, it is unattributed as to artist. According to *The Union Alumni Monthly*, January 1928, the portrait hung for some time in the President's Office also unidentified as to subject, until the discovery of a letter to President Potter from General Alexander Hamilton, a grandson of the subject, dated December 8, 1875, in which the writer states, in part:

> I beg you to accept for Union College the accompanying original portrait of my grandfather, Alexander Hamilton. This portrait was given me in 1833 by my late friend Mr. Winfield Scott Yates, formerly of Albany. Mr. Yates informed me that he received the picture from his uncle, Gov. Joseph C. Yates for whom it had been painted from life, shortly before my Grandfather's death. The elder members of our family, and friends, who recollected my Grandfather, have regarded this picture as an excellent likeness.

Because the portrait mentioned by Ames in his entry was delivered to Dr. C. C. Yates, the father of Winfield Scott Yates (the nephew of Governor Yates), the entry must refer to the portrait now at Union College. Thus the entry dates the portrait, identifies the artist, proves the identity of the subject as Alexander Hamilton, and confirms William Sawitzky's attribution of the picture to Ezra Ames. Finally, it proves that the portrait was not painted from life as stated in the letter, but dates from the year 1810, which was six years after the death of Alexander Hamilton.

The specific history of another portrait at Union College, also of a well-known person, is established by an entry in the



AMBROSE SPENCER (1765–1848)
By Ezra Ames, 1811
Courtesy, Mr. John De Witt Peltz

ELKANAH WATSON (1758–1842)
"E. Ames Pinx^{t}. [1818] V. Balch Sculp^{t}."
from Watson's History of N. Y. Canals, 1820

[Both of these portraits are dated by Ames's Albany Institute Account Book. The Spencer portrait is reproduced from a FARL photograph.]

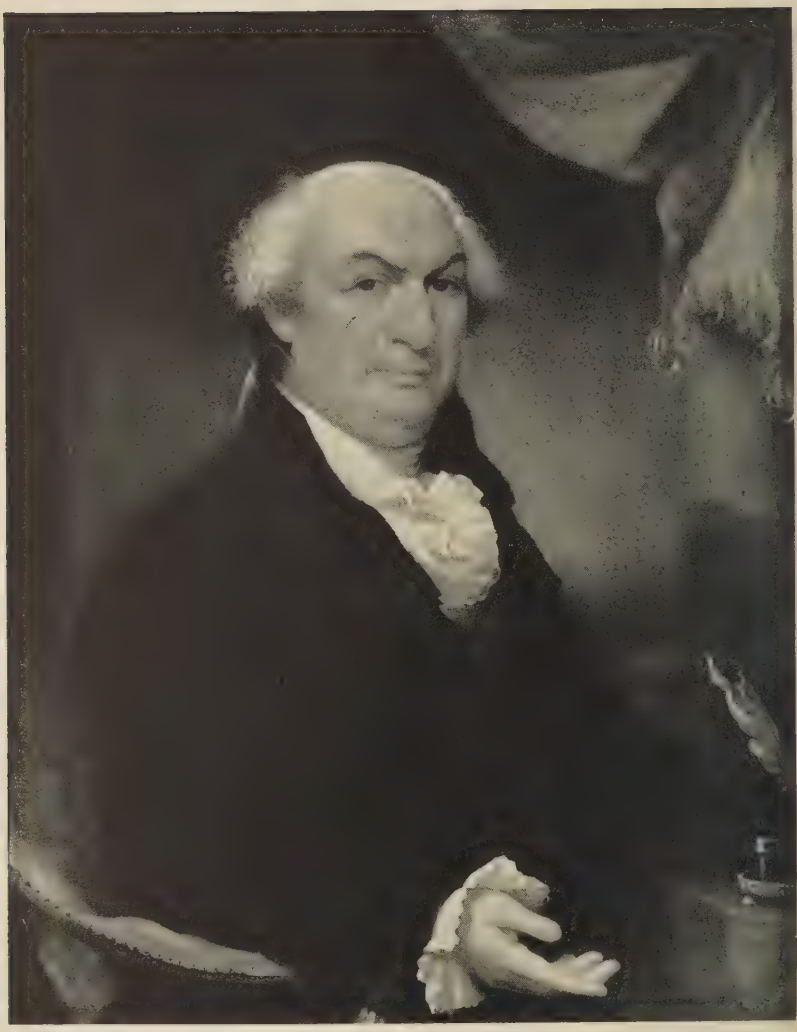
Albany Institute Account Book. In the entry, dated November 18, 1828, Ames records the painting of a portrait of Dr. Nott for Jesse W. Goodrich, E. H. Blatchford, and S. R. Wynkoop. Three very similar portraits of Dr. Eliphalet Nott (1773–1866), are listed in the typewritten *Union College Portrait Index* (1950). All resemble an engraving by A. B. Durand after a portrait of Dr. Nott by Ezra Ames. All three have been examined. One, No. 87, attributed to Ames with a question mark, appears to be a copy. Another, No. 22, on loan from Old South Association, Boston, unidentified as to artist in the *Index*, is very probably by Ames, and is thus attributed on the Frick Art Reference Library photomount because of its resemblance to the Durand engraving. The third portrait, No. 84, which hangs over the President's desk at Union College and has always been in the possession of the institution so far as is known, is certainly by

Ames and presumably the portrait recorded in the entry. The reasons for reaching this conclusion are these: Dr. Nott was president of Union College from 1804 to 1866, and Goodrich, Blatchford, and Wynkoop were students in the class of 1829, as recorded in Raymond's *History of Union University*. The portrait was commissioned in November of their senior year. It is possible that these three seniors were chosen by their class to make the arrangements with Ezra Ames for painting this portrait of President Nott for presentation to Union College. It seems hardly possible that they kept it for themselves.

Another Account Book entry clears up the confusion in attribution which surrounds the portrait of Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816) owned by Mr. Gouverneur Morris, a great-grandson of the subject. The portrait is now on loan at Columbia University and bears the label: "Copy of a portrait by Thomas Sully." The portrait is reproduced in C. W. Bowen's *The Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington*, 1892, facing page 160, and erroneously attributed to Thomas Sully. It is also attributed to Sully in the *Life and Works of Thomas Sully*, 1921, by E. Biddle and M. Fielding, No. 1279, in an entry repeating Bowen's error and transcribing incorrectly the record as given by Sully in his manuscript Register.

This portrait is also attributed to Charles Willson Peale on the photomount of the photograph at the Frick Art Reference Library with the caption: "Copy after Ezra Ames." This attribution is based on an interpretation of a diary entry supplied by Mrs. McCook Knox, written by Mrs. Stephen Bonsal (Henrietta Morris), a great-granddaughter of the subject, on December 11, 1893, stating in part that "old Mrs Sayre . . . brought Miss Peale from Philadelphia to look at her grandfather's portrait, [of] my great-grandfather." Of this attribution, Mr. Charles Coleman Sellers, author of *Charles Willson Peale*, states in a letter to the writers:

> I do not believe the copy from Ezra Ames is by Peale, and have not included it in my list. Peale generally added something of his own touch to



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (1752–1816)

By Ezra Ames

Gift of Stephen Van Rensselaer, 1817, to The New-York Historical Society

a copy, and I cannot see his hand in this picture. I think the evidence of the diary very tenuous. If the ladies of 1893 thought this picture a Peale, it still leaves one unconvinced. The "Peale" tag was supplied very liberally at this time.

Another portrait of Gouverneur Morris bearing a striking resemblance to the one owned by his great-grandson was presented to The New-York Historical Society, November 11, 1817, by Stephen Van Rensselaer, a fitting memorial to the second President of the Society. The idea of having a portrait painted for the Society is recorded in the Minutes, December 6, 1816: "Resolved that a portrait of the late Hon. Gouverneur Morris dec[d] president of this Society be procured at the expense thereof, and that the Recording Secretary [John Pintard] be charged with carrying this resolution into affect." Several letters relating to the project are at The New-York Historical Society. One shows that John Pintard wrote to William T. Meredith of Philadelphia, who married a niece of Gouverneur Morris, requesting a replica of their portrait of Morris by Thomas Sully. Meredith's reply to Pintard, dated January 2, 1817, is as follows:

> My friend, M[r] Sully, has just now left me your letter of 23[d] December, with the subjoined resolution, and a letter to himself from D[r] Hosack requesting that, besides the copy of M[r] Morris' portrait desired by you, another may be taken for his own gratification.
>
> I can assure you, Sir, with sincerity, that it is extremely painful to convey through you to your highly respected Institution any other reply than one of a chearful and respectful acquiessence to their request; and the more so, because the declining it may postpone the honour which is contemplated to the memory of a man toward whom I have ever entertained sentiments of profound respect and affectionate esteem. But the Portrait in question is peculiarly the property of M[rs] Meredith; and as she has very lately felt herself obliged by reasons which cannot find a proper place in this communication but which were entirely approved by me,— to refuse an application for a copy from another quarter, with which I presume Dr. Hosack is acquainted,— I cannot with consistancy or self respect, yield to an endeavour to obtain one indirectly by using the liberal purpose of the New York Institution and the weighty influence which on every occasion must accompany the request of its Members.

The reason not given by Meredith is divulged in a letter by

Thomas Sully who wrote to Dr. Hosack, then Second Vice-President of the Society, from Philadelphia, January 9, 1817, as follows:

Dear Sir

Mr. Meredith has replied to the letter from the Historical Society of New York which contained a request to have the portrait of the late G Morris Esq[r] copied for their Hall by which you will learn his objection to their wishes—The true reason of his withholding the picture is to prevent M[rs] Morris having a copy of it; for reasons which do not at all concern me: I think, if after the lapse of some time M[rs] M would herself make the application; it would not be refused.

With respectful regard to M[rs] Hosac and your daughter

I am dear Sir

Yr friend & obt Svt.

Tho[mas] Sully

D[r] Hosac

B Delaplaine had promised me to write to you.

On January 18, 1817, Meredith wrote to Dr. Hosack: ". . . I am sincerely sorry that this *Feeling* has required me to refuse at all,—& even to delay my assent to a request coming from the Historical Society [to have a replica of the Sully portrait made]."

Whether or not this refusal of the Merediths to allow the copying of their Sully portrait of Gouverneur Morris in order to thwart the subject's widow from obtaining one was the reason, it is clear that shortly afterwards she commissioned Ames to paint a portrait of her husband, for on June 21, 1817, the artist recorded the completion of such a portrait, as follows:

M[rs] Morris D[r]	
To a Portrait of the late Govn[r] Morris Esq[r]	$50.00
To a Burnished Gilt Frame	25.00
" a Packing Box	1.00

This entry documents and dates the portrait which has remained in the Morris family to this day, and confirms the attribution of William Sawitzky that the portrait is by Ames, though not from life. In the meanwhile Dr. Hosack, who had failed to

obtain a copy of the portrait of Gouverneur Morris by Sully for the Society, apparently took advantage of a visit to the Society by Charles Willson Peale on June 10, 1817, when its minutes record him as being made an Honorary Member, to apprise him of its desire for a likeness of its late president. Just two weeks later, on June 24, 1817, Peale wrote to David Hosack:

> . . . I have employed some agents to find out a Portrait of Gouverneur Morris, which I painted when he was connected with Robert Morris in financing. If I succeed in obtaining it, and it is deserving a place amongst the other Portraits [at the Society], I shall have a pleasure in sending it, or a copy, as soon as possible. The least chance of obliging the Historical Society will be grateful to the feelings of
>
> Your friend
>
> C. W. Peale

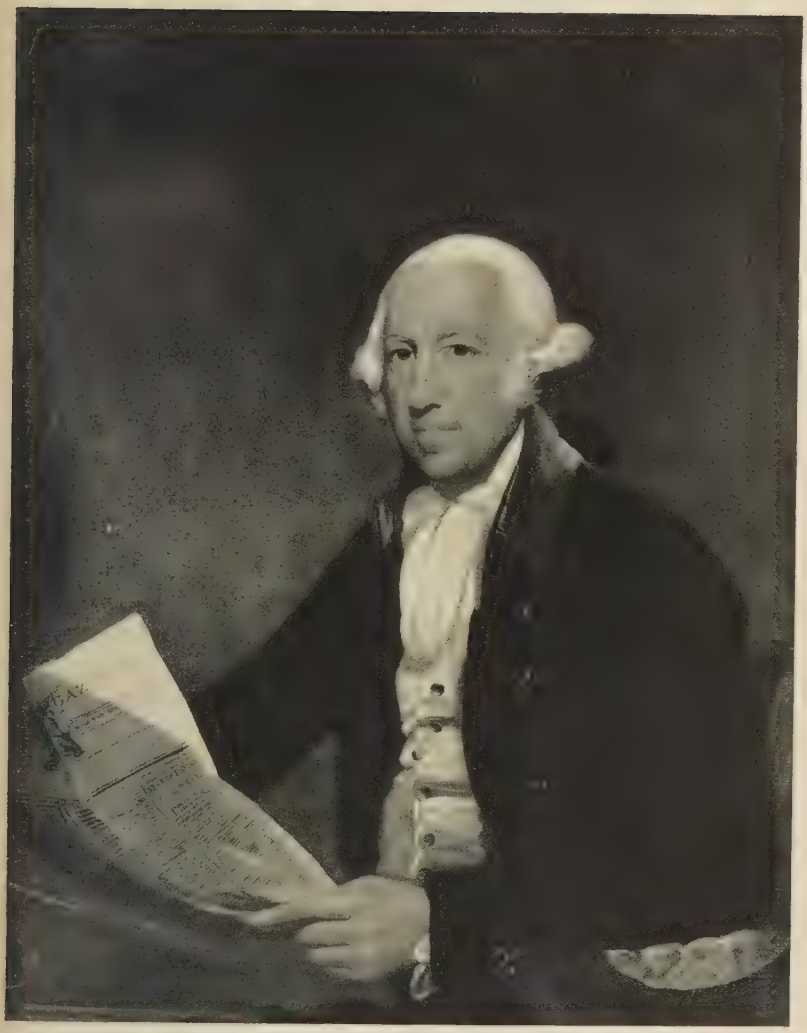
An entry in the minutes for July 8, 1817, states that Dr. Hosack reported the contents of Peale's letter to the Society. However, C. W. Peale apparently never found the portrait, and the Society's desire for a likeness remained still unfulfilled. Finally, in the minutes of the Society for November 11, 1817, one learns from the entry, in ink, that: "The Portrait of Gouverneur Morris Esq. by [Ames of Albany *and* Ezra Ames *written in pencil*] was presented by Stephen Van Rensselaer Esq. of Albany." The pencilled words are written in the same handwriting as that of those in ink. This is, then, a contemporary record of the receipt of the portrait of Gouverneur Morris by Ames which is listed as such in the *Catalogue of American Portraits* issued by the Society.

The portrait at Columbia University, which is documented by the entry in the Account Book, is further documented by its resemblance to the portrait of Gouverneur Morris by Ames at The New-York Historical Society. One question now arises: was The New-York Historical Society picture painted from life? At present the question remains unanswered.

One of the Account Book entries identifies a copy of a portrait by Gilbert Stuart as by Ames. In the entry, dated July 5, 1806,

Ames records the painting of "a portrait" for "M^r Ja^s Rivington." Since the patron could not have been James Rivington the elder—one-time merchant, bookseller, and newspaper publisher, who died in 1802; the reference must be to his son James Rivington whose name had appeared in the New York Directory for 1802 as his father's partner. The son's name disappears from the New York Directory in 1806, the year the Account Book entry was made, and appears in the first Albany Directory in 1813. Thus he could have been in Albany in 1806. After careful consideration of this entry in the light of what is known of a portrait of James Rivington the elder by Gilbert Stuart, now lost, the writers conclude that this entry must refer to a copy of the original portrait by Stuart. That the original was owned by Ames, then or later, is indicated by the listing of a "Portrait of Rivington by Stuart" in the certified inventory of the paintings in the estate of Ezra Ames, dated April 1836, now at the Albany Institute.

A portrait said to be by Stuart of Rivington is listed by G. C. Mason in his life of the artist, 1879, as owned by William Henry Appleton; but this portrait, later owned by Percy Rivington Pyne, is recorded by Lawrence Park in his four-volume work on Stuart, 1926, as a copy. Park stated that "it cannot be accepted as the original work which is still unlocated." He also mentions the copy at The New-York Historical Society, which was a gift of Dr. Samuel C. Ellis, grandson of Mrs. James Rivington and her first husband, Cornelius Van Horne, in 1858, and which is listed in the Society's 1941 *Catalogue* as by an unidentified artist after Stuart. This copy greatly resembles the work of Ames in its clear hard attention to detail; the precise lettering on the newspaper is similar in its precision to the lettering on papers introduced by Ames into his original portraits such as that of Simeon DeWitt. Again in painting the highlights of the eyes the copyist used small dots placed at the tops of the pupils in the manner so characteristic of Ames, whereas most of Stuart's highlights are dashes placed almost invariably at the upper left of the pupils. Like many artists



JAMES RIVINGTON (1724–1802)

By Ezra Ames, July 5, 1806, after the original by Gilbert Stuart

[Here first attributed and dated from data in Ames's Albany Institute Account Book]

Gift of Dr. Samuel C. Ellis, 1858, to The New-York Historical Society

of his day Ames admired Stuart's portraits, and as exercises to benefit him in his own work he copied several of them. Some of these are listed in his inventory. This fact, plus the estate inventory record of Ames's ownership of Stuart's Rivington, plus the stylistic resemblances of the Society's copy to Ames's known handywork, plus the Account Book entry of a portrait painted by Ames for the younger James Rivington after his father's death, adds up to a strong confidence that the Society's painting may now be attributed to Ezra Ames, as a copy after the original by Gilbert Stuart.

A portrait of General Solomon Van Rensselaer (1774–1852), known to have been painted by Ames, is exactly dated by an entry in the Albany Institute Account Book. Ever since the artist painted it in 1819 it has been in the possession of the family and has hung on the walls of "Cherry Hill" at Albany, New York, a house built in 1768 by Colonel Philip Van Rensselaer, uncle and father-in-law of the subject, and now the residence of their descendants, Miss Emily W. Rankin and Mr. Edward E. Rankin. In an entry dated December 6, 1819, Ames charges General Solomon Van Rensselaer for "Painting his Portrait" which thus dates the likeness to the day. An earlier portrait of General Solomon Van Rensselaer is recorded on September 8, 1818, as painted for Joseph Delaplaine. This portrait was destroyed by fire. Mr. and Miss Rankin, in a letter to the writers, have traced the history of this portrait as follows:

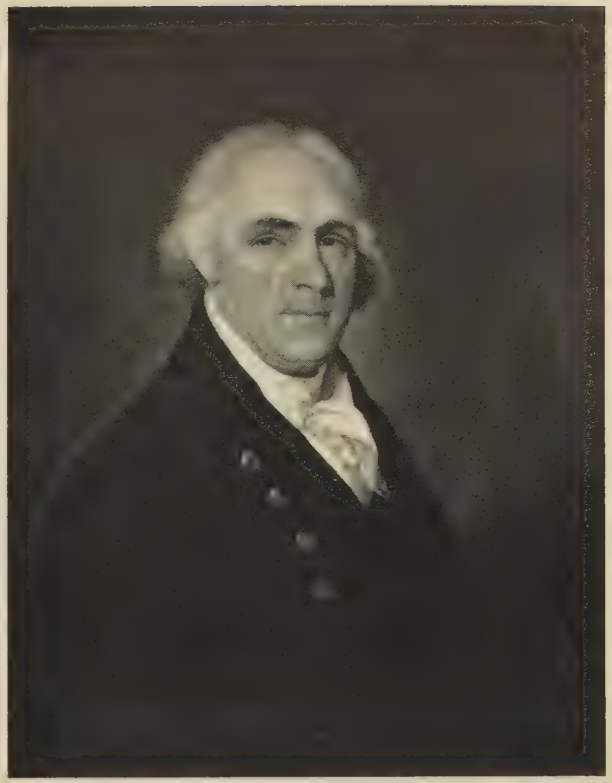
In *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, volume I, pages 400–401, by Mrs. Bonney, a daughter of Solomon Van Rensselaer, there is set forth a letter from Joseph Delaplaine to Gen. Van Rensselaer, dated Philadelphia Feb. 28, 1822, in which occurs the following sentence: "It gives me pleasure to mention that *your Portrait* in my Gallery is recognized by all who know you." Mrs. Bonney then writes: "The above mentioned portrait was the most strikingly correct likeness ever taken of Gen. Van Rensselaer and for many years was in Philadelphia, but subsequently purchased by P. T. Barnum, Esq. Different members of Gen. Van Rensselaer's family, when in New York, repeatedly tried to obtain possession of this valuable picture, but they were told by the proprietor that 'money could not buy it.' A few years since, when 'Barnum's Museum' was destroyed by fire,

unfortunately this cherished portrait, with the rest of his truly valuable collection, was reduced to ashes."

It has already been stated that the late William Sawitzky attributed portraits of Hamilton and Morris to Ames, and that his attributions are confirmed by entries in the Albany Institute Account Book. In four other instances the attributions of portraits to Ames by this, the most distinguished of all historians of early American art, are now confirmed by entries in the same Account Book. The portrait of Ambrose Spencer owned by John DeWitt Peltz, attributed in 1942, is recorded January 9, 1811. Portraits of Aaron Thorp and his wife owned by Miss Eleanor B. Weir, also attributed in 1942, are recorded May 1826. And the portrait of Gerrit Yates Lansing owned by Gerrit Yates Lansing, attributed in 1932, is recorded February 19, 1830.

Either of two portraits of Mrs. Jacob J. Brown, one owned by Harold T. Patterson, and one by the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, is probably the portrait recorded in the Account Book, March 12, 1818. The Patterson portrait, formerly attributed to John Wesley Jarvis, was attributed to Ames by the late William Sawitzky in 1940. The portrait owned by the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute was attributed to Ames by Miss Hope Mathewson in 1940.

Four more attributions made by Miss Hope Mathewson to Ames of known portraits are confirmed by entries found in the Albany Institute Account Book. One of the portraits, attributed in 1937, and owned by Miss Eleanor B. Weir, is of a small girl, Frances Mary Thorp, the portraits of whose father and mother were attributed to Ames by William Sawitzky. In his entry in the Account Book, dated May 1826, Ames lists all three portraits. Other portraits attributed to Ames by Miss Mathewson, of subjects now found recorded in the artist's Account Book, are: the portrait of Mrs. John Keyes Paige, owned by Dr. J. Lewi Donhauser, attributed 1945, recorded October 1826; the portrait of Major George Provost, owned by Mrs. Stanley McCormick, attributed 1950, recorded October 29, 1805; and the portrait of



MAJOR GEORGE PROVOST

By Ezra Ames, 1805

Courtesy, Mrs. Stanley McCormick (Photo by FARL)

MRS. JACOB JENNINGS BROWN (1785–1878)

By Ezra Ames, probably 1818

Courtesy, Mr. Harold T. Patterson (Photostat by FARL)

Absalom Townsend, owned by Mrs. Van Santvoord Merle-Smith, attributed 1935, recorded March 13, 1816. In this wise attributions on technical grounds to Ames are here confirmed by actual documentation.

Other portraits which are dated by entries in the Albany Institute Account Book are those of: Harmanus Bleecker, owned by The Harmanus Bleecker Library, Albany, recorded June 1819; DeWitt Clinton, on indefinite loan at the Albany Institute of History and Art, recorded March 8, 1818; John Keyes Paige, owned by Dr. J. Lewi Donhauser, recorded October 1826; John Tayler, now at Philipse Castle Restoration, which is inscribed on the back and dated 1816, and must be either of the portraits recorded August 14 or 28, 1816; and Elkanah Watson, known only in an engraving dating from 1820, recorded September 15, 1818.

A number of known portraits are less positively dated or identified. Thus the portrait of N. Allen, formerly owned by Dr. G. L. LaPorte, which can be safely attributed to Ames, may be the portrait of Nathaniel Allen recorded April 15, 1817, in the Albany Institute Account book. Then there is an engraving of Solomon Allen after a still-unlocated portrait which may be the one recorded May 1814 as charged to "Mr. Solomon Allen To painting a portrait of his father," if we can assume that father and son had the same Christian name. A portrait of Solomon Southwick which may be the portrait recorded November 2, 1804, in an entry charging Solomon Southwick "To painting a portrait," is now in the Board Room of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Albany. In an entry for September 8, 1818, Ames charges Southwick for a portrait destined for Joseph Delaplaine, but this could not be the portrait under discussion, because the sitter represented is much younger than Southwick was in 1818.

Three portraits and a landscape—all located—remain to be mentioned because they are also tentatively dated by entries in the Albany Institute Account Book. The portraits of Benjamin Tal[l]madge and his wife, formerly in the collection of Mrs.

Charles Peace Roy who bequeathed them to her daughter Mrs. Charles Lassell, may be those recorded on April 6, 1826, as copies, charged to "Cushman Esq[r] Troy [N. Y.]." The portrait of Stephen Van Rensselaer, at the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York, may be the portrait referred to in an entry of October 14, 1818, in which Van Rensselaer is charged for a portrait of himself for Joseph Delaplaine; or it may be the portrait referred to in an entry of April 24, 1819, which reads: "To Painting the portrait for your son. . . Delivered to your son S. V. R. Jun[r]," and charged to Stephen Van Rensselaer; or it could be the copy noted by Ames, June 3, 1825, for General Dunbar, Van Rensselaer's agent. The landscape, a "View of Lake George and Caldwell Village," owned by Miss Catharine Van Cortlandt Mathews and Mrs. William V. Mason, was probably painted long before the entry in the Account Book dated August 26, 1822, which is a note of a charge for "altering" the picture.

The documentation of the twenty-eight known paintings, discussed in the present essay, made possible because the Albany Institute Account Book of Ezra Ames is now available for study, is an indication of the possibilities for a further study of the artist's work. In time other paintings by Ames may be located, dated, or otherwise documented by a study of the Account Books. It is for this reason that a transcript of all the entries relating to the artist's paintings have been extracted from the artist's records and made available here in printed form.

OMISSIONS FROM THE TRANSCRIPT

Numerous entries in the Account Books relating to the artist's work as a craftsman and journeyman painter, and thus falling outside the scope of the following transcript, are summarized here. This partial revelation of the remaining contents of the Account Books will indicate, comparatively, how much of the artist's work was artistic and how much of it was of a miscella-

neous nature. Further, the great variety of work produced by Ames will give a general idea of the activities of other artists of that period and of a provincial portrait painter's status during the early years of the Republic.

Miscellaneous Jobs: Entries relating to miscellaneous jobs comprise by far the greater part of the first two Account Books and about half of the third. This type of work ranged from such day labor as papering rooms and painting fences, sleighs, and chaises, to painting signs, clockcases and clockfaces; making and painting "stands of colours" and Masonic regalia of all kinds; engraving and initialing spoons, rings, coffin plates, and other articles; and producing hair work and mourning pieces, as well as painted fancy pieces for embroidery.

Hair Work, etc.: Of hair work, Ames records seven orders between 1792 and 1796, three of which were included with orders for miniatures; of mourning pieces, he records four between 1796 and 1810; of fancy pieces, he records eight between 1809 and 1819, two of which are described as "for embroidery."

Signs: The artist records payment due him for about 162 signs between 1791 and 1820. In 1823 he records the painting of two "Indian statues" for a tobacco-shop proprietor. After that his painting was devoted exclusively to easel pictures. In eight cases only did Ames indicate the subject of his signs. They are as follows: a "Saw Sign" in 1797; "a large watch sign" in 1808; a "Sign Pocahuntas" in 1817; "a sign of Old Darby & Joan" in 1817; and an "Eagle Sign" in 1819. In each of the years 1816, 1817, and 1820 he records the painting of a lottery sign.

"Pictures": In all three Account Books there are entries which may or may not refer to original work by Ames. In this category there are three which refer to "pictures" of "Darby & Joan," two of which he sold for $5.00 in 1804 and 1806, and one for $6.00 in 1811. Inasmuch as these prices were higher than for other so-called "pictures," these entries may possibly refer either to original oil paintings by Ames, perhaps copied from a print, or to prints, not by Ames, which he sold. Although he painted a

sign of "Darby & Joan" in 1817, as previously noted, this does not mean that the earlier pictures were necessarily paintings. Indeed, from 1797 through 1811 references appear in the Account Books to "pictures" at so low a price that one can more readily infer them to have been prints. Thus in 1797, "2 Pictures Solomons Temple, & City Jerusalem," which were sold for 32 shillings for the two, might well have been prints.

Prints: There are four other entries between 1798 and 1800 which give a descriptive title but no mention of the medium employed and which are thought to refer to prints, thus: In 1798, "To a frame & Glass for [*?*] Liberty" for $2.00; in 1800, "To framing the Lawyers agent" for 10 shillings, "To 2 Caricatures of England & Scotland" for 9 shillings, and "To 4 Sea peices [*sic*] framed & glazed" for 3 pounds 12 shillings for the lot.

Then there are twelve references between 1797 and 1811, covering over 46 items, which refer specifically to prints: In 1805, "To Several ages d[*itt*]o [*mezzotinto print*] Colored 5/6"; in 1808, "To a Large print Golden Chain of Salvation," for 50 cents; and during the period seven references to mezzotinto prints, sometimes referred to by Ames as "mezzitints prints," and three references simply to prints. Since there is no known pictorial work engraved by Ames one may assume that none of these prints was by Ames.

Unclassified: Two baffling entries defy classification. In 1791 Ames records that he charged J. Thomas 1 pound 16 shillings "To painting 2 Cherubs etc."; and in 1798, he charged P. S. Van Rensselaer 14 shillings "To painting & a Glass."

Purchases: In a group of entries which appear to list expenses there are three entries which possibly refer to purchases by Ames of paintings which he may have bought to serve as models. The entries are for a miniature and setting in 1792; "1 Picture Sea Piece," and a miniature and hair work in 1794.

NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPT

The following entries relating to Ames's paintings are published practically as the artist recorded them in his Account Books. They are, however, arranged in chronological order, which involved the transposition from the actual order of many of the entries in the first two Account Books, and a few in the third. The compilation includes the dates of the entries, the names of the patrons who commissioned the paintings, the names of the sitters whenever Ames recorded them, the references to the frames which he generally supplied, and the amounts charged. Except for the slight standardization in the form of dates, amounts charged, and a few abbreviations, the entries as printed reproduce the text of the manuscript even to the misspelling of names.

The dates have been standardized in the following manner: the years, frequently repeated by Ames before each entry, are given but once, at the beginning of each year; and the months, although variously spelled in full or abbreviated, have been uniformly contracted. The amounts charged have likewise been printed in a uniform manner. A final standardization is the invariable use of the abbreviations "M^{r}" and "M^{rs}" and "M^{essrs}" as the artist almost invariably wrote them. "D^{r}," of course, stands for debtor.

Indications of payments received have been omitted. These consist of the word "paid," or the cancellation of the entry by a line running through the words, or by a cross mark. No transcript is made of entries for balances due except when they are the only indication that a portrait was painted.

No attempt has been made to preserve the original alinement of dashes following the abbreviation "do" [for "ditto"] or to reproduce those which appear as flourishes. Otherwise, the transcript following is a faithful chronological reproduction of all the data contained in Ames's three Account Books relating to his easel paintings and miniatures.

TRANSCRIPT OF ENTRIES FOR PORTRAITS, MINIATURES, AND PAINTINGS OF MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS FROM EZRA AMES'S NYHS ACCOUNT BOOKS

Date	Entry	Price
1790		
Dec 4	D[r] Seymore To painting Miniature	£0:18:0
Dec 4	D[r] Theopelous Whealer To painting miniat.	0:18:0
Dec 4	D[r] Joseph Wheeler To painting miniat.	1: 0:0
Dec 4	D[r] Polly Dixon painting Miniature	0:18:0
1791		
Jan 29	D[r] Sam[el] Fallington to mineature	0: 5:0
Sep	D[r] phillips miniature	0:18:0
Oct	[*No D[r]*] Joseph Wheeler miniature [*possibly payment for the miniature in entry of Dec. 4, 1790, under same name*]	1: 0:0
	Locket & setting	0: 8:0
1792		
Mar 27	D[r] M[r] Draper To painting a portrait 30/	1:10:0
Apr 21	D[r] M[r] harris to painting miniature	0:18:0
Jul 13	[*No D[r]*] Sanford for his miniature	[*Not given*]
Sep 14	D[r] A. D. To painting a Miniature	0:18:0
Oct 17	D[r] Doct[r] W[m] Lanton To painting a Miniature	0:18:0
1793		
Jan 17	M[r] Stephen Harris D[r] To Painting his Miniature	0:18:0
	and a piece of heir work	0:16:0
[*c.* Jan–Jul]	[Maj[r] Livingston pictures]	[6:15:0]
	[Note: In several undated entries, here assigned to January–July 1793, Ames records his expenses for materials for painting pictures for Major Livingston, and for payment received from him of £6:15:0]	
1794		
Jan	Doc[t] D. Treat D[r] To Painting his Miniature	0:40:0
Feb 10	M[rs] Y[a] [Yates] [*No D[r]*]	
	For 2 Miniatures	4: 0:0
Feb 22	of M[r] Glen [*No D[r]*] for Portrait painting	4: 0:0

Date	Entry	Price
1794 (cont'd)		
Feb 25	D[r] M[r] John Hayke	
	To painting Miniature	£ 0:40:0
Mar 3	M[r] John Hooker [*No D[r]*]	
	To Painting a miniature	0:40:0
Mar 26	M[r] Spalding D[r]	
	To Painting a Miniature	0:40:0
Mar 28	[*No D[r]*] for M[rs] [George] Clinton miniat[r]	2: 0:0
	for his Excel[l]encys Do	2: 0:0
Apr 1	[*No D[r]*] for M[r] M. Dewetts m[r] [miniature]	2: 0:0
Apr 24	Miss Cor[a] Yates D[r]	
	To Painting 2 miniatures	4: 0:0
May 1	of M[r] Levi Willard [*No D[r]*]	
	for a miniature	0:40:0
May 3	M[r] Thomas Diamond D[r]	
	To Painting a portrait	0:48:0
Jun 19	M[rs] Fairley D[r]	
	To Painting & finishing the Drapery of Maj[r] Fairleys Portrait	1:12:0
	To the Frame	0:12:0
	To Gilding the frame	0: 8:0
1795		
Mar 26	M[r] Francis Follet D[r]	
	To Painting a Miniature	0:40:0
	To a heir plat	0: 6:0
Aug 8	D[r] M[rs] Samuel Hawkins	
	To painting a Miniature	0:40:0
1796		
Feb 26	M[r] Hez[ah] Sharliff D[r]	
	To Painting a Miniature	0:40:0
Jul 22	M[r] Ellis D[r]	
	To painting a portrait	3: 4:0
	To painting a Miniature & heir work	0:48:0
1797		
[*No date*]	M[r] James Rogers [*No D[r]*] To Painting a Mineature	0:40:0
	To a Glass for Do	0: 6:0
1798		
Jul 30	John M. Dole D[r]	
	To painting a miniature	$ 5.00

Date	Entry	Price
1799		
Dec 23	Elihu Phinney Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting his portrait	$15.00
	To a Frame for do & box	2.00
		1.00
1800		
Dec 22	M[r] [*no name given*] D[r]	
	To painting a Lion	£5: 4:0
1802		
Aug 18	Leonard Gans[e]voort Esq[r] D[r]	
	To 1 Portrait	4: 0:0
	To a Frame for do	4: 0:0

TRANSCRIPT OF ENTRIES FOR PORTRAITS, MINIATURES, AND PAINTINGS OF MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS FROM EZRA AMES'S ALBANY INSTITUTE ACCOUNT BOOK

1804		
May 22	Matthias B. Tallmadge Esq[r] D[r]	
	To painting a portrait	$ 20.00
	To a Frame for do	10.00
Jul 20	M[r] James Hodge D[r]	
	To painting a miniature	15.00
Nov 2	M[r] Solomon Southwick D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait	18.00
	To Frame for do	10.00
Dec 16	M[rs] McGourk D[r]	
	To painting a portrait	20.00
	To a Frame for do	10.00
1805		
Feb 14	M[r] Bulkey D[r]	
	To painting a Miniature	15.00
Mar 2	The Hon[bl] Smith Thompson Esq[r] D[r]	
	To painting a portrait	20.00
	To painting a Miniature	15.00
Apr 17	Zebulor Shepherd Esq[r] D[r]	
	To painting 2 portraits $20 each	40.00
	To 2 Frames for do $10 each	20.00

Date	Entry	Price
1805 (cont'd)		
Jun	Mr Jacob Vanderhyden Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	$20.00
	To Frame for do	10.00
Jun 29	Mr Thomas Barrey Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	20.00
	To a Frame for do	10.00
Jul	Mr James Caldwell Dr	
	To Painting Two Portraits $20 each	40.00
Oct 29	George Provost Esqr Dr	
	To Painting 2 Portraits at $20	40.00
	To Two Frames for do at $10	20.00
Oct 30	William P. Beers Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	20.00
	To a Frame for do	10.00
1806		
May	Leut Thorne Esqr Dr	
	To Portrait & Frame	30.00
Jul 5	Mr Jas Rivington Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	30.00
Oct 13	Mr Germain Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	30.00
Oct 27	Mrs Diamond Dr	
	To Portrait & Frame	30.00
Dec 27	Doctr Saml Stringer Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	25.00
1807		
Dec 24	Mr James Lagrange Dr	
	To painting Two portraits & Frames	60.00
Dec 25	Mr Benjn Knower Dr	
	To Painting Two portraits & Frames	60.00
	[*Note: According to a bill dated December 25, 1807, laid in the Account Book, receipted by Ames, more details are given as follows:*]	
	To Painting a Portrait $25.00	
	To –do– – do his Lady 25.00	
	To Two gilt frames–$10 each 20.00	
	70.00	

Date	Entry	Price
1808		
May 16	Mrs Van Cleek Dr	
	To a Frame & portrait of Mrs Rivington	$30.00
Jul 28	Isaac Hansen Esqr Dr	
	To a portrait & Frame	30.00
Aug 10	Mr John Van Schaick Dr	
	To a portrait & Frame	30.00
Aug 13	Mr Garret Van Wie Dr	
	To a portrait & Frame	30.00
Nov 1	Doctr H. Woodroof Dr	
	To Portrait & Frame	30.00
Nov 7	Capt Solomon Townsend Dr	
	To Ballance due on a portrait & Frame	15.00
Nov 22	Mr Robert Dunbar Dr	
	To 2 Portraits & Frames $30 each	60.00
1809		
Mar 24	Solomon Southwick Esqr Dr	
	To a Frame & Portrait of Mr Barber [*or* Barker]	30.00
Jul 13	T. Sedgewick Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	20.00
Jul	Doctr H. Woodroof Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait & Frame	30.00
1810		
Apr 25	Elijah Thomas Esqr Dr	
	To Portrait & Frame of Genrl Hamilton delivered to Doctr C. C. Yates	25.00
May 4	Mr Joseph Warford Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	35.00
Jun 16	Isaac Hansen Esqr Dr To Portrait & Frame	35.00
Jul 3	Mr James Caldwell Dr	
	To Painting the asalt of the Ile of [*?*]	10.00
	To a Frame for do	10.00
Aug	Mr Thomas Livingston Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	35.00
Oct 3	Mr C. Z. Platt Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	35.00
Oct 29	Doctr Pomeroy Dr	
	To Portrait & Frame	30.00
	To Box for do	.75
Nov 22	Mr Gourlay Dr To a Portrait & Frame	40.00

Date	Entry	Price
1811		
Jan 9	His honor Ambrose Spencer Dr	
	To a portrait $30	
	To a Frame for do $15	$45.00
Jan 31	Mr Lawrence Van Cleek Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	35.00
Mar 20	James Van Ingen Esqr Dr	
	To painting figure of Hope for steamboat	8.00
Apr 24	James Van Ingen Esqr Dr	
	To painting the Beaver assiduity for steamboat	7.00
Jun 13	Mr Caleb Russell Dr	
	To Portrait & Frame	30.00
Aug	Mr Obadiah Penniman Dr	
	To a Portrait of Mrs Penniman	25.00
Nov 6	Mr Wm McHarg Dr	
	To 2 Portrait & Frames viz Genera[l] King & Lady	76.00
Dec 13	Mathew Trotter Esqr Dr	
	To a Portrait & Frame	38.00
1812		
Mar 4	Mr Wegdon Dr	
	To Portrait 25 Dol & Frame 20 Dol	45.00
Mar 13	Mr James Kane Dr	
	To one View of Lake George	25.00
	To 4 Large Frames $25 each	100.00
Apr 1	Lawrance L. Van Kleeck Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait of Miss Van Rensselaer 25 Dols Frame 20 Dols	45.00
May 8	Mr Gilbert Stewart Dr	
	To painting a portrait	25.00
	To a Frame for do	13.00
May 8	John Bogart Esqr Dr	
	To painting a Portrait	25.00
	To a Frame for do	20.00
[*No date*]	Mr John C. Cuyler Dr	
	To a Ballance due acct a portrait	5.00
Sep 9	Mr John Randel Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait of his sister, Mrs Weeks	25.00
	" a Burnished Gilt Picture Frame	21.00
	To Painting a portrait of his Mother & sister	35.00
	" a Frame for do	21.00

Date	Entry	Price
1812 (cont'd)		
Sep	John Tayler Esq[r] D[r]	
	To a Perspective painting of Lake George	$25.00
	To a Frame for do	25.00
Nov 21	Direct Ten Broek Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
1813		
Mar 18	M[r] Sedgewick D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait	25.00
Apr 5	M[r] John Randel, Jun[r] D[r]	
	To painting a portrait of his father	25.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame for do	21.00
May 14	M[r] I. M. Wells D[r]	
	To Ballance due on a Portrait	10.00
	To a Portrait frame	18.00
Aug	Doct[r] John Stearns D[r]	
	To a Portrait	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Portrait Frame	20.00
Oct	M[r] Ira Porter D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
	" 2 Burnished Gilt Portrait Frames $20.00	40.00
	Cr—one portrait returned $15.00	
Nov	M[r] E[b]enizer Smith D[r]	
	To Painting 2 Portraits $30 each	60.00
	2 Burnished Gilt Frames for the above	40.00
1814		
May	Mathias B. Talmadge Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting a half length Portrait of the late Vice president George Clinton	100.00
	" a Burnished Gilt Frame for do	50.00
May	M[r] Solomon Allen D[r]	
	To painting a portrait of his father	30.00
	—a frame for do	20.00
May	Doct[r] Romyne Beck D[r]	
	To a Portrait of Doct[r] Romeyn	30.00
	To—Frame for do	15.00
Dec 5	Robert L. Livingston Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting a Coppy of M[rs] Stevens	40.00
1815		
Feb	M[r] Dela Van D[r] To Painting a Portrait	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00

Date	Entry	Price
1815 (cont'd)		
Mar 3	Mr Thomas Mounsey Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	$30.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Mar 17	James Gourlay Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a full length Portrait of a Child	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame for do	25.00
Jul 21	Isaac Hamilton Esqr [*No Dr*]	
	To Painting 2 Portraits $30	60.00
	" Two Burnished Gilt frames for do	40.00
1816		
Mar 13	Mr Absalom Townsend Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
May 31	Aaron Hackley Esqr Dr	
	To a Portrait $30 & Burnished Gilt Frame	50.00
Aug 14	John Tayler Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Aug 28	John Tayler Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait for Lynot Bloodgood	30.00
Nov 25	Mr George B. Spencer Dr	
	To Painting Two Portraits $30	60.00
	" Two Burnished Gilt frames $20 ea	40.00
Dec	Mr John Meads Dr	
	To painting Two portraits $30 each	60.00
1817		
Apr 4	John F. Bacon Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Apr 15	Nathl Allen Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
Apr 18	Theodore Dwight Esqr Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait	30.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Jun 21	Mrs Morris Dr	
	To a Portrait of the late Govnr Morris Esqr	50.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	25.00
	" a Packing Box	1.00
Sep 13	James Van Ingen Esqr Dr	
	To painting a portrait of his son	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame for do	20.00

Date	Entry	Price
1817 (cont'd)		
Sep 15	M[r] James Davis D[r]	
	To Painting his portrait & son	$50.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	25.00
1818		
Jan 10	Elkanah Watson Esq[r] [*No D[r]*]	
	To painting a Portrait of his Daughter	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Mar 8	Govn[r] [DeWitt] Clinton D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of a White Lake Fish	2.50
Mar 8	Elisha Jenkins Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting a Half length Portrait of Govn[r] Clinton (for the Corporation)	100.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame for do	50.00
Mar 12	Maj[r] General Brown D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Lady	30.00
	" a Burnished Gilt Frame for do	20.00
Mar 25	Govn[r] [DeWitt] Clinton D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of a Lake Herring	2.00
Jul 31	Govn[r] [DeWitt] Clinton D[r]	
	To painting a Coppay of a Portrait of his Lady For Joseph Delaplain	30.00
Sep 5	Govn[r] [DeWitt] Clinton D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of his son George	30.00
	To—do—do — —his son Franklin	30.00
	To 2 Burnished Gilt Frames $20 each	40.00
Sep 8	M[r] Joseph Delaplaine D[r]	
	To Portrait of the late Vice presid[t] Clinton	15.00
	To Gen[l] Sol Van Rensselare	15.00
	[To do—Rev. H. Cumming, *crossed out*]	15.00
	[Note: In an entry, same date (Sep 8), the portraits of Clinton and S. Van Rensselaer are listed with a portrait of Rev. Hooper Cumming. All three names are crossed out. The first two are re-entered, the third omitted, in the final entry. Thus the third, the portrait of Cumming, may never have been painted, or it may have been omitted because paid for on delivery.]	
Sep 8	Govn[r] Tayler D[r]	
	To a Portrait for Delaplaine's Gallery	30.00
Sep 8	Solomon Southwick Esq[r] D[r]	
	To his Portrait for Delaplaine's N-Gallery	30.00

Date	Entry	Price
1818 (cont'd)		
Sep 15	Elkanah Watson Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To a Portrait of Himself	$30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Oct 8	M^{r} Giles Spencer D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Daughter	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Oct 10	Govn^{r} [DeWitt] Clinton D^{r}	
	To Painting a Fish	2.50
Oct 14	[Joseph Delaplaine D^{r}]	
	To Copy of a Portrait of Doct^{r} Livingston	15.00
	To do—Gov^{n} Morris	15.00
Oct 14	Stephen Van Rensselaer Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To a Portrait for J. Delaplain, Philadelphia	30.00
Oct 31	M^{r} John Meads D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of M^{rs} Crane	30.00
Dec 28	Rev^{d} Arthur I. Stansbary D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Mother	30.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Dec 29	Rev^{d} Doc^{t} Blackford D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
1819		
Jan 13	F. [*possibly* J *or* G] Humphery D^{r}	
	To Balance on a Portrait &c	25.00
Mar 1	W^{m} Barclay D^{r}	
	To an alegorical Painting for T[emple] Lodge &c	10.00
Apr 24	Stephen Van Rensselaer Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait for your son	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
	Delivered to your son S.V.R. Jun^{r}	
Jun	H. Bleeker Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait for M^{rs} Sedgwick	30.00
	To Gilt Frame for do	10.00
	To Portrait for the Rev^{d} Broadhead, Phi^{l}	30.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00
Jul 27	M^{r} James Caldwell Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To a Portrait & white Frame	35.00
Dec 6	Gen^{l} Solomon Van Rensselaer D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.00

Date	Entry	Price
1820		
Jan 28	Gov^{n} [DeWitt] Clinton D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of M^{rs} Clinton	$60.0
	To Burnished Gilt Frame for do	
	To a do–a–Coppy–do	30.0
Sep 7	Rev^{d} Doct^{r} Blackford D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Lady	30.0
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	20.0
Dec 23	His Excellency Gov^{n} [DeWitt] Clinton D^{r}	
	To Painting a Pike–fish–	1.5
1821		
Apr 3	Guint Van Schoonhovn Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Portrait of his Lady	30.0
	To a Frame for do	14.0
Sep 18	M^{r} George W. Stanton D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.0
	To–do–his Lady	30.0
Oct 3	Peter Gansevoort Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of his father	30.0
Oct 17	W^{m} Wilkinson Esq^{r} (Providence) D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.0
	Delivered to M^{r} Mather	
[*No date*]	Thomas R. Gold Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.0
[*No date*]	R. Temple Esq^{r} (Rutland, Vermont) D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of his father	30.0
Dec	His Excellency Gov^{r} [DeWitt] Clinton D^{r}	
	To Painting an Apple & a Pear	[*Not given*]
1822		
[*No date*]	Alexander O. Spencer Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To painting a Copy of Judge Spencers Lady	30.0
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame	13.0
Mar 19	John Townsend Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of Judge Spencer son	30.0
	To a Burnished Gilt Frame for the above	13.0
Apr 9	Barnum Whiple Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.0
Apr 23	Goven^{r} [DeWitt]Clinton D^{r}	
	To Painting a Silver Lake White Fish	[*Not given*]
Aug 26	James Caldwell Esq^{r} [*No D^{r}*]	
	To altering a paintg of Lake Georg[e]	2.0

Date	Entry	Price
1824		
Mar 4	Cushman Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Father	$25.00
	To – Do – do – his mother	25.00
Apr 17	Aaron Huckley Esq^{r} D^{r}	
	To a Portrait of his lady	30.00
	To a Frame $8	8.00
May 10	Doct^{r} Megs D^{r}	
	Portrait of his mother	30.00
May 16	Rev^{d} G. [*possibly* J.] Hurlbert D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	To a Frame for do	13.00
Oct 19	M^{rs} Davinson D^{r}	
	To Painting a Portrait of her Husband	30.00
	To Burnished Gilt Frame	18.00
1825		
Mar 12	M^{rs} Mancius D^{r}	
	To Painting her Husbands Portrait	30.00
	To Burnished Gilt frame–Do	12.00
	" a Coppy of a portrait	25.00
	" a Frame for do	7.00
Jun 3	Gen^{l} Dunbar D^{r}	
	To Painting a Copy of General S. Van Rennsselaer's portrait	30.00
Jul	M^{r} Tilly Allen D^{r}	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	To–do–his Ladys–do	30.00
Oct 14	M^{rs} Pain (Troy) D^{r}	
	To Painting her Portrait Kit Cat Size	40.00
Oct 14	M^{r} D. Williams D^{r}	
	To Painting portrait his Lady & Child	50.00
	To–do–his Portrait Kit Cat Size	40.00
Nov 10	M^{r} James B. Duglass D^{r}	
	To Painting his Lady's Portrait and Daughters	50.00
	Picture Returned 1834	
1826		
Apr 6	Cushman Esq^{r} Troy [N. Y.] D^{r}	
	To a Copy of a Portrait of Col. Talmage	30.00
	To–do–of his Lady	30.00

Date	Entry	Price
1826 (cont'd)		
May 18	John Brinckerhoff Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting his Ladys Portrait	$30.00
May 29	M[r] Valentine W. Rathbone D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Child	30.00
May	M[r] Aaron Thorp D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of his Child	30.00
	To—do his do	30.00
	To—do do Ladys Portrait	30.00
Oct	John K. Page Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	" do his Ladys Portrait	30.00
Oct 9	M[r] Egberts D[r]	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
Oct 9	M[r] Chandler Starr D[r]	
	To Painting his fathers Portrait	30.00
Oct 9	M[r] James Hunter D[r]	
	To Paintin[g] his Portrait	30.00
1827		
Oct 16	M[r] Mills D[r]	
	To Paintin[g] a Portrait of his Son	30.00
Oct	M[r] Hatch (of Troy) D[r]	
	To a Portrait of Randel Rice Deceased Returned	15.00
Oct	M[r] Mandevell (Waterford) D[r]	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
1828		
Nov 18	Mess[rs] Jesse W. Goodrich, E. H. Blatchford, & S. R. Wynkoop D[r]	
	To a Portrait of Doct[r] Nott	30.00
	" " Frame for do	12.00
1829		
Jan 7	Govn[r] Taylors Portrait [*No D[r]*]	30.00
Feb 6	M[rs] Levy Solomans D[r]	
	To Painting a Portrait of her son Levy	30.00
	To — do — do — do Samuel	30.00
Jun 20	John Trotter Esq[r] D[r]	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	"—do—his sons do	30.00

Date	Entry	Price
1829 (cont'd)		
Jul 24	Mr F. [*possibly* T *or* I] Ten Eyck Dr	
	To Painting a Coppy of his fathers portrait	[*illegible*]
Aug 21	John S. Van Rensselaer Esqr Dr	
	To Painting his Portrait	$30.00
	To—do—do—Ladys—do	30.00
Nov 20	Judge Southerland Dr	
	To a Portrait of Chanr Lansingh	30.00
1830		
Feb 19	Garret Y. Lansingh Esqr Dr	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
Jun 19	Willard Walker Dr	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	To—do—his Ladys	30.00
Jun 19	Mrs Stuart Dr	
	To Painting her Deceased Husbands Portrait	30.00
Jun	Doctr R. Forsyth Dr	
	To Painting Portraits of his Two sons $30 each	60.00
Nov 30	Mr S. Penniman Dr	
	To Painting his Portrait	30.00
	To—do—his Ladys	30.00
1831		
Sep 3	Henry Shaw Esqr Dr	
	To Painting his daughters Portrait	30.00
1834		
Dec 28	Mrs Cooper Dr	
	To Painting a Portrait of Doctr Cooper her Deceased Husband	30.00

[*Last Entry*]

Editor's Note: The authors of the above essay are preparing for publication a biography and appraisal of the artistic work of Ezra Ames, and also as complete and as accurate a catalogue of his paintings and drawings as may be possible. They will welcome any helpful data and comments addressed to them in care of this Society.

ALBANY BASIN ABOUT 1850

Detail from lithograph of "Albany, N. Y." by Hatch & Severyn after a drawing by John W. Hill (1812–1879)

THE ERIE CANAL: MOTHER OF CITIES

by BLAKE MCKELVEY*

THE ERIE, sometimes known as the Grand Canal, really gave birth to but two cities—Syracuse and Lockport; yet, even if only as step-mother, it nurtured Rochester and, to a lesser degree, Buffalo, Utica, and Rome during their village days. Albany, Schenectady, and Troy, already established as cities, and of course New York, each felt its influence, as did Oswego and Binghamton at the ends of lateral canals. The effects were in every case different, for Mother Erie certainly played favorites. It would be rash for a local historian to say that she spoiled any of them—but let us drop the metaphor and look at some of the realities of history.

All but three of the ten upstate cities we will principally discuss had been settled and chartered as villages before work commenced on the canal, but only one, Albany the capital, had gained urban status. Albany in fact already boasted nearly two centuries of history as a trading post and Hudson River settlement. It might more properly be regarded as the canal's parent than the reverse, yet Albany, in a century and a half of continuous growth, had by 1810 acquired a population of only 10,000. When we see this quiet old community suddenly fattened up and transformed into a thriving city of 50,000 during the next four decades, we cannot overlook the influence of the Erie Canal.

Schenectady, the second largest upstate town (a city in name if not in fact and almost as old as Albany itself), was less benefited than any of our other towns by the canal. Indeed, the completion of the Erie destroyed one of Schenectady's earlier advantages, for

* Dr. McKelvey, the City Historian of Rochester, is the author of *Rochester, the Water-Power City, 1812–1854,* which was reviewed in our *Quarterly* for July 1946, and of *Rochester, the Flower City, 1855–1890* (Harvard University Press, 1949). His paper on "The Erie Canal: Mother of Cities" was read before the Society in its auditorium, October 25, 1950, on the occasion of a preview of the special exhibition commemorating the 125th anniversary of the canal's opening, which Miss Barck describes herein, p. 72.

its location at the foot of boat traffic on the Mohawk River—from which point the produce of the interior had been transported by turnpike to Albany or other points on the Hudson—lost this special significance as soon as the canal was finished eastward to Troy and Albany. The Erie's predecessor, the Inland Lock Navigation Company's river improvements—at carrying points on the Mohawk and further west where that river was connected with Wood Creek and the Finger Lakes—had greatly benefited Schenectady. The cost of shipping a ton of supplies from this town to Little Falls had been cut by $32 according to one estimate and a saving of half that figure had been made on east-bound tonnage by the mid-1790's. The effect was to double the value of land in this region. Union College was established in 1795; a city charter was secured in '98; and the Bank of Schenectady opened a decade later.

But this forerunner of the Erie likewise provided sound arguments for the more ambitious canal and, although no community along the route of the Grand Canal could have felt more confident of its future than Schenectady, that city's fortunes were by no means enhanced by its completion. It was not until the newer railroads supplied a better means of climbing and descending the ridges between Albany and Schenectady that packet traffic made Schenectady its eastern terminal, thus helping to sustain its economy. In reality it was many years later that new industries centering around the use of electricity brought Schenectady back into the main stream of upstate urban development.

Troy, the third settlement in size if neither in age nor importance in the pre-canal days, was first of all a river port. In fact it was only because of its location at the head of shipping on the Hudson that a side cut of the canal was extended to West Troy while the main stem continued south to its final terminal at Albany. Troy, however, was from the first—perhaps we should say especially at first—an energetic, aggressive town, and no opportunities were overlooked by its enterprising promoters. Founded only in 1787 (or 1789), it had a permanent weekly paper as early

JUNCTION OF THE ERIE AND CHAMPLAIN CANALS
(ABOVE WEST TROY, PRESENT WATERVLIET) ABOUT 1830
Aquatint by John Hill (1770–1850)
The New-York Historical Society

as Schenectady, a city charter by 1816 and a first-rate female seminary by 1821. When the official opening of the eastern end of the canal was celebrated on October 8, 1823, Trojans shouted and waved as the ceremonial boats moved eastward from Schenectady, but as soon as they had passed on toward Albany, local merchants hastily loaded a boat for the west and thus gained the honor of sending the first shipment west from the Hudson—much to Albany's chagrin!

The rivalry between Albany and Troy continued for several decades, as an able paper by David M. Ellis in *New York History* discloses, though it centered chiefly around control of river and railroad traffic. Albany never lost its primacy as a city, but in later years the major shipments of through-freight were made from and to West Troy, and Troy itself, in its industrial era, found the Erie a most valuable artery for the westward shipment

of its stoves, horseshoes, plows and farm machinery, axles, church bells, even its shirts and detachable collars.

Meanwhile we must hasten west with Troy's first boat to see what is happening among the villages of the interior. Beyond Schenectady we glide past Amsterdam, Little Falls, and several smaller villages which seemed prosperous enough at the time but which failed to gain much benefit from the canal.

Utica's case was different, for, while the westward progress of the Erie blasted its hope of remaining the commercial capital of the whole western district, this town never for a moment lost its interest in the canal's progress. Utica was in fact one of the most single-minded of the canal towns. Its establishment antedated the canal, but its location on the site of old Fort Schuyler was important (as the fort was important) because it stood at the junction between the Mohawk water route and the old Seneca trail, which the Seneca Turnpike Company transformed during the 1790's into the principal highway for westward migrants with Utica as its chief provisioning mart. It was in its taverns and about its firesides that the early debates pro and con an overland canal raged furiously before and after the War of 1812. Its first village charter of 1798 was revised in 1805 and again in 1817, by which date its population had reached 2,500. Seven churches, two banks, five printing establishments, a lyceum, and over 400 houses gave it a substantial appearance when the celebration marking the opening of the first section of the canal from Utica west to Rome was held on October 22, 1819. Spafford's *Gazetteer* of 1824 noted an increase of more than 60% in the number of houses and shops and 30% in residents during the three previous years. Here, as with Rochester and Lockport, the frantic editor had to insert a last-minute note in fine print in order to bring his statistics up to date—so fast was this town growing while he collected his data on the rest of the State.

Utica continued to grow and to prosper from its active part in the transport lines on the canal, but with the completion of the great artery west to Buffalo in 1825 the provisioning merchants and many other enterprising folk moved west. Utica was the

first large village to suffer disillusionment and its disillusionment was not solely economic or commercial. A measure of commercial and economic prosperity had in fact been achieved, enabling Utica to assume urban status in 1832—but at what cost! It was here that church folk first demanded that the canal be closed on the Sabbath and that other licentious activities be curbed. It was here that the Reverend Charles G. Finney first kindled the fires of evangelism that swept over central New York, warming many spirits frustrated by reversals or disillusioned by the canal's materialism.

It would be ridiculous to argue that the canal was the sole or even the chief cause for all the upstate experiences of this era—but the problems it brought, the disturbances it created, helped to determine more than commercial fortunes. A way of life, slowly built up during the previous century, was here for the first time subjected to a severe and violent shock. It was not wholly by chance that Utica produced Gerrit Smith, patron angel for many of the social and reform movements of the next half century.

We will return to some of these intangible influences later, but first let us follow the Erie's progress westward. Rome, where work on the canal was first begun on July 4, 1817, was, next to Schenectady, least benefited of all the canal towns. It had grown up on the north side of the older canal connecting Wood Creek with the Mohawk, and, when the route of the Erie was located a half mile farther south, Rome was left temporarily stranded until later improvements during the 1840's brought it more directly into the flow of traffic. It did not become a city until 1870.

Further west another thriving village, Salina, was also bypassed. In this case, however, the rich salt works which had determined its location prompted the State to construct a mile-long side cut from Onondaga Creek to the canal. The village of Salina, with its hundred dwellings and double that number of salt works, was destined, nevertheless, to be overshadowed and finally absorbed by the new settlement that developed at the junction of the side cut and the canal.

Syracuse, the first and most important of Mother Erie's own

children, began as a construction camp but developed quickly into a thriving trade center. Enterprising men from a half-dozen neighboring towns, such as Camillus, Pompey, Marcellus, Brutus, and Scipio (even the names suggest the lofty character of their aspirations) gravitated quickly to Syracuse where a celebration on July 4, 1820, marked the completion of the central division. The State's decision in 1822 to commence immediately with the construction of the first lateral canal, by extending the Salina side cut into Onondaga Lake and on down its outlet to Oswego, made Syracuse the first major trading junction (unless we include Troy as the junction point between the Erie and Champlain canals). The Oswego canal was not, however, completed to Lake Ontario until 1829 and the village of Syracuse, chartered in 1825, did not develop its full stride until the thirties and did not become a city until 1847.

West of Syracuse a succession of ports and basins contended for leadership. Montezuma, located near the point where the Erie crossed Cayuga Creek (the point at which a second lateral canal branched off to tap Cayuga and Seneca lakes in the late twenties), proved too marshy a site for urban development. Weedsport a few miles to the east, and to the west Port Byron, Clyde, Lyons, Newark, Port Gibson, Palmyra, and Fairport, each made a hopeful beginning but failed to achieve urban proportions. It is a mistake, however, to think of these settlements as failures, since few of their founders considered them in that light—at least not for over a decade. In fact, most of them became what their planners intended—thriving villages equal in size to the older county villages in the area and back east. Their disillusionment came only when a few settlements mushroomed into cities, raising a new and unexpected standard for urban aspiration.

Rochester afforded the most striking example of this sort of development. A village had been laid out at the upper falls of the Genesee in 1812, but older hamlets such as Tryon Town on Irondequoit Bay, Charlotte at the mouth of the Genesee, and Hanford's Landing at the head of lake shipping on that river, vied for precedence. A new settlement known as Carthage had

FIRST AQUEDUCT OVER THE GENESEE RIVER AT ROCHESTER, 1826

From drawing by A. Duttenhofer reproduced in his *Bereisung der vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Stuttgart: 1835)

been planted on the east bank immediately after the close of the War of 1812, and its accessibility to both lake shipping and the power of the lower falls promised to make it a serious rival. Yet Rochesterville, as chartered in 1817, had the river bridge plus the potential power of the two upper falls. Moreover, the northward flowing Genesee deposited the valley's rich product of forest and field at its doorstep. When the engineers determined, after testing several rival routes, that the only feasible point for a canal crossing was a few hundred feet south of the Rochester bridge, the future of the village was determined.

That future (for the next two decades) was not exactly what its planners had intended. Old Colonel Rochester had finally located in the village in 1817 shortly after the canal surveyors had made their decision. He selected a spacious site less than two blocks from the central four corners and began to plant a pear orchard on the slope leading down to the river. At last he would have the patriarchal setting he had long dreamed of down in Hagerstown, Maryland. An Episcopal church was put under construction near by; a Jeffersonian weekly was launched, and applications were dispatched to Albany for a bank and a county seat.

The new county of Monroe was set up in 1821, the year in which construction crews, busy on the western section of the canal, reached Rochester. Work on a great stone aqueduct, designed to carry the canal across the river, was pressed to completion at a cost of $83,000 during the next two years, permitting the opening of trade eastward to the Hudson by the fall of 1823. Local ceremonies celebrated this achievement on October 6, with the village band playing the Masonic tune "The Temple's Completed," but the townsmen were not all in a happy mood. The trustees of St. Luke's Church had encountered difficulties as some of the stone masons employed on its new building were attracted away by the Yankees who were rushing the construction of a Presbyterian church across the street. Each of these two church groups was struggling to complete its edifice first, for obviously there could be but one leading church in town. Almost the same identical factions were vying for control of the Bank of Rochester, chartered in 1824, each group supported in this and other controversies by vociferous partisan weeklies. Yankees were contending with Yorkers and Southerners for county judgeships and other offices. A rival celebration designed to overshadow old Colonel Rochester's family reunion on Independence Day in 1824 foreshadowed a social upheaval.

Rochester was not to become a parochial village of the Southern type envisioned by its founder, nor would it adhere to the New England pattern familiar to its numerous Yankee inhabitants. Colonel Rochester had to cut down his pear trees before their first blossoms appeared, for additional room was needed for canal basins. His first homestead was converted to commercial use and a second and more modest house was erected on a side street among Yankee neighbors whose growing strength now proved welcome in the struggle to curb intemperance and the licentiousness bred by the canal. The rival churches of 1824 soon forgot their jealousies in face of the organization of a Tom Paine Society, the appearance of the Unitarian heresy, and the building of a Catholic chapel. A half-dozen weeklies contended for favor, and soon a daily, the first in the State west of Albany,

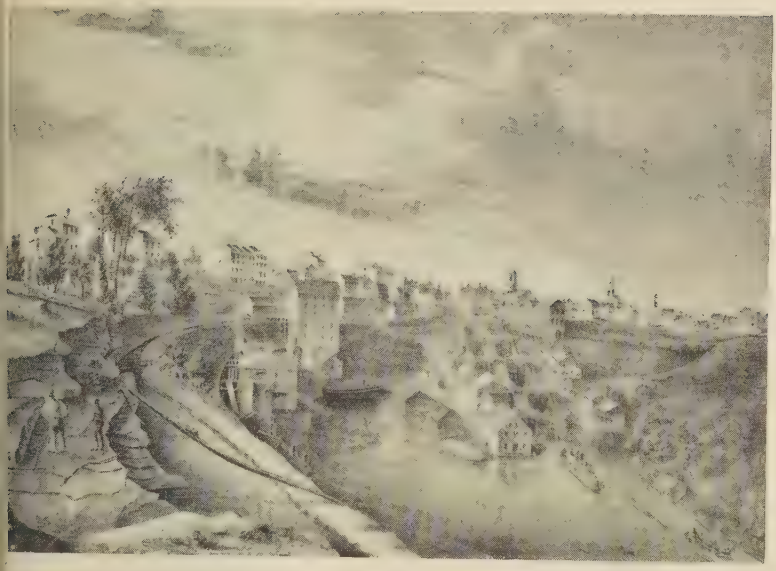
made its bow, the work of a stranger from New York City, with a young Irishman, Henry O'Reilly, as printer and editor. "Who is running this town, anyhow?" must have been asked frequently, both in shocked whispers from behind freshly painted venetian blinds, and in angry outspoken demands in the taverns which threatened to overrun the place.

Rochester, located at the crossroads of the Genesee River and the Erie Canal, with an apparently unlimited supply of water power immediately at hand, had become America's first boom town. Its population of 331 in December, 1815, trebled in three years, trebled again in the next three years, and mounted to 9,207 by 1830. No town in America, perhaps none in the world, had ever before mushroomed so rapidly. The boom-town pattern would be followed at many other strategic points as population and commerce extended westward, but the experience in Rochester was relatively unique and wholly unexpected. Troy, Utica, and Buffalo, and to a lesser degree Syracuse, had growing pains (and would have more), but none so violent as Rochester's. There were those who called for the establishment of an academy —"a retreat for the muses," as the village *Directory* of 1827 put it, but the proprietors of two theaters did not await official invitations. Soon a circus troupe, a museum of weird relics, wax figures, and mechanical devices, and a host of "groceries" (the current name for the older grogshops and the modern We Blew Inns) were entertaining throngs of riotous canallers. The boisterous life of the booming canal port reached its climax in November, 1829, when the famous falls-jumper Sam Patch came to Rochester to demonstrate his skill. "Some things can be done as well as others" was his motto, one that struck a responsive chord in Rochester. Over 10,000 gathered around the great natural amphitheater created by the main falls of the Genesee to watch him leap 120 feet from a platform over the falls into the pool below.

Some things can be done, perhaps, but not all, as that Friday the thirteenth of November was to demonstrate! The shouting ceased when Sam's body failed to reappear. The crowd scattered

quietly and with dampened spirits, but the incident did not close there, for the next Sunday Elder Josiah Bissell, founder of the six-day stage line and the six-day packet company, both designed to confound the Sabbath breakers, arose in the Third Presbyterian Sunday School and announced that all who had encouraged that soul to leap into eternity would be held accountable at the Judgment Day. Elder Bissell had met Finney the revivalist at Utica a few years before, and soon his pleas for assistance brought that great preacher to Rochester for his most effective work of regeneration. Rochester was transformed that winter (incidentally it was a winter of unexpected hard times, when many bold speculators lost their shirts and even old villagers such as Abelard Reynolds developed grave countenances) from the hot spot of western New York into the sober Flour City chartered in 1834 and devoted to the preservation of Yankee and Christian virtues.

It may seem that I have wandered a bit from the Erie Canal—Mother of Cities. So let us turn back to the 1820's and follow the canal-builders westward. Minor ports such as Spencerport, Brockport, Medina, and Gasport made their appearance, but it was at Lockport that Mother Erie achieved immaculate conception. The so-called Mountain Ridge which stretches across part of western New York (20 to 40 feet above the Lake Erie level to the west and 100 or more feet higher than the plain to the northeast) had to be breached in order to permit a continuous flow of Lake Erie's inexhaustible supply of water eastward to Rochester and beyond. When the engineers finally determined the point for the break through, two desolate log huts occupied the site of the future city of Lockport. One cabin immediately became the "Lockport Hotel," with E. Brown, its former occupant, now its proprietor. Soon construction crews and land speculators were thronging over the hillside. Almost every second house erected during the first frantic months boasted a tavern sign. The owner of the *Niagara Democrat* of nearby Lewiston moved quickly to the new town and renamed his paper



LOCKPORT IN 1836

[Showing the five double combined locks with a lift of sixty feet to the Lake Erie level]

Lithograph by Bufford after drawing by W. Wilson

The New-York Historical Society

ıe *Lockport Observer*. It was there that a young printer named)rsamus Turner secured a job in 1822. Apparently there was)mething in the atmosphere of a boom town to turn newspaper-ıen into historians. Henry O'Reilly, the first daily editor in ochester, not only wrote a remarkable volume, *Sketches of ochester*, published in 1838, but collected a mass of manuscripts :hared today by The New-York Historical Society and the ochester Historical Society) for a later book which was never)mpleted. In like fashion, Orsamus Turner, moved by the sight such rapid developments, wrote his equally noteworthy)lumes: *The Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase*, and *The ioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*.

Lockport had not only the stimulus of the costly labor of ilding a double stair of locks down the northeastern face of the

Mountain Ridge, but it also gained the use of a steady overflow of water released as the successive locks were emptied in lowering boats down the five levels. Saw and grist mills crowded along the narrow canal gorge; taverns and hotels adorned the heights, for visitors never tired of watching the unending processions of canal-boats—one going up and one down this aquatic staircase. The village remained a boisterous center long after Rochester had tamed down, perhaps for the very reason that it never developed the economic girth and stability of the Flour City. Lockport as a town and even as a city after 1865 never quite climbed out of its canal ditch era.

Beyond Lockport, and absorbing more and more of the benefits at the western end of the canal, was Buffalo. A village of 100 houses in 1812, it was described in Spafford's first *Gazetteer* as less advantageously situated than nearby Black Rock. All but two of Buffalo's houses were burned by the British late in December, 1813, but they were quickly rebuilt and numbered 300 by 1824 when Spafford's second *Gazetteer* came out announcing the rapid construction of the canal terminal in its harbor. The rivalry with Black Rock was soon forgotten as that town was absorbed by Buffalo, which was experiencing some of the same boom growth enjoyed at Rochester. Buffalo mounted four-fold in population during the twenties, became a city in 1832 and proceeded to maintain a rate of growth which no other canal city could sustain for a second and third decade.

Buffalo, of course, was not principally a canal town. It was first of all a lake port, and its character was most positively influenced by the rows of steamships and sailing craft tied up at its wharves. Rochester monopolized the early boat-building industry and with Utica and Syracuse owned and operated the canal packet and freight lines; Buffalo was quite content, for although its home-owned canalboats numbered only five in 1847, totalling 321 tons, its lake shipping registered locally amounted to 3,365 tons and much more visited its docks. Yet the lake boats would not have docked there, not at least in such

numbers, had it not been for the Erie Canal over which most of their cargo was shipped to eastern markets.

Buffalo developed great warehouses and built mechanically operated grain elevators to store the western produce until the canal opened or the market was right, but it is important to note that this eastward stream never equalled *in value* the westward flow of provisions, furniture, machinery, and other articles needed on the expanding frontier. The great westward movement has frequently been studied as a human migration, and much attention has been given to the eastward flow of western produce—and no other artery except the Mississippi rivalled the tonnage which the Erie carried to the seaboard between 1830 and 1870. There was, however, still a third major branch of its commerce—the west-bound cargo of merchandise. Part of this was, of course, the baggage of westward-migrating settlers, native and foreign, but a much larger part was the investment of eastern merchants and European capitalists in western homesteads, villages, and cities. Buffalo shipped 400,000 tons east in 1846, valued at $15,000,000, but received 150,000 tons from the east, valued at $23,000,000. The city was more than a toll-gatherer on this commerce; its warehouses served as the provisioning center for the entire northwest and its merchants took an active part in the distribution of this rich heritage of civilization.

Thus when we consider the cities nurtured by the Erie Canal we must not forget a host of western lake ports whose importance was greatly enhanced by the volume of supplies received by way of Clinton's Big Ditch. Again it was not a one-way traffic, and by the mid-thirties the shipments eastward through Buffalo began to mount until a decade later they exceeded those of New York State origin. This trade nurtured millers and shippers along the canal, but, as the years passed and the through-freight increasingly predominated, it was the eastern markets that benefited most. And here in the Metropolis there must be some who with R. G. Albion are ready to recognize the Erie's influence on the rise of the New York port.

We have followed the Erie Canal from east to west, noting the cities it benefited, and some of their first reactions. The canal, as we have said, was more than an economic asset. The roles it played in the development of the State's social life were many and varied. Story-tellers and writers have collected and reported many tall tales of canal personalities, pious and otherwise, and the search for canal songs is still absorbing our folklorists. These are among the striking and colorful remains, but we should not overlook its more humdrum influences.

Both upstate New Yorkers and other early 19th-century folk enjoyed leisurely trips aboard the early canal packets. The blast of the bugle, announcing the arrival or departure of a boat or the approach of a low bridge, made a greater impression in the quiet countryside of the 1820's and 30's before the din of traffic and of auto horns or even the whistle of a railroad engine had challenged the voice of man and the horse's whinny for control of the air waves. The packet's maximum speed of five miles an hour does not impress us today, but it was only slightly less than the stagecoach average and by running day and night greatly increased the distance a traveler could cover in comfort.

In comfort, did I say? Yes, for compared with the jolting stage, a packet ride must have seemed like heavenly rest, and, if the traveler found the sleeping quarters cramped, he had only to recall his restless slumbers on bench or floor in many village taverns when a sudden descent of an extra stage load of passengers overtaxed all facilities. More than one European visitor to Rochester in the early days found all the hotels full to overflowing and was glad to find a bench near the fire. The canal's side-wall hammocks or shelves, as they were variously described, were the first stages in the evolution of the modern sky sleeper. And the meals frequently were good, by contemporary standards, and astonishingly cheap—less than a modern pullman tip! Moreover a ride of any duration was a social experience with almost every passenger rubbing shoulders in a friendly democratic way entirely foreign to our modern detachment and re-

serve. Neither the stage, which confined passengers in too close a space, nor the railroad car or bus which seated them more orderly but separately, had the social advantages of the canal boat where 20 to 40 passengers had opportunities for leisurely acquaintance rivalled only by the steamboat travelers who were generally too numerous for easy familiarity. It is worth noting that the Yankee reserve east of the Hudson disappeared quickly among the Yankee residents of the Erie Canal cities and among those who followed its course to Buffalo en route to the West. Estimates of the number of persons carried annually by the canal are vague and unreliable, but tolls collected at Rochester in 1845, several years after the railroads had invaded the field, indicate that 28,580 persons boarded canalboats at Rochester during the season and paid 5¢ toll to the State for every 100 miles traveled.

Of course the canal brought more than Yankees into upstate New York. The Irish who helped to build it, the English, Scotch, German, and lesser ethnic groups that arrived by the thousands before the Civil War, found the Erie their cheapest and best route westward. Thus while a migrant with 100 lbs. of extra baggage would pay $5.02 for a ticket by Hudson River boat and train from New York to Rochester in 1851, river and canal fare that year on immigrant boats was as low as $1.19. The canal cities were still dominated by their early Yankee-Yorker stocks throughout the years of heavy passenger traffic on the canal, but packet and immigrant boats brought in hosts of newcomers whose customs and ways of life broke down parochial patterns and whose children were destined to assume posts of leadership during the succeeding cosmopolitan period.

This is not the place to trace the ups and downs in canal trade or the fluctuating shipments at the various ports, although that is an interesting story. But we must note the vital contribution the canal—or more specifically the rebuilding and extension of the canal—made to the welfare of its major cities and lesser communities during the great depression of 1837–44. The overde-

ERIE CANAL AT ROCHESTER ABOUT 1850

Detail of lithograph by D. W. Moody after drawing by John W. Hill

The New-York Historical Society

velopment of canals and railroads in the Middle West has often been listed as one of the causes for this depression, but few have noted the extent to which New York State appropriations for the enlargement of the old Erie sustained its ports during the early years of the crisis.

Take Rochester for example, where the original aqueduct had early shown its deficiencies. Not only was its 17-foot width much too narrow, and the right-angle turn at the eastern end a constant traffic obstruction, but the crumbling sandstone bottom did not hold water, not all of it in any event. Everybody realized by 1835 that it would have to be replaced, yet the Canal Board procrastinated, and it was 1837 before work on a second aqueduct was commenced. This half-million-dollar project, pushed ahead slowly during the next five years, was a great P.W.A. project

during these dark years. No other canal city had such an ideal project, but the construction crews working on the enlargement of the locks and the rebuilding of the ditch throughout its length, plus those engaged in building the Black River, Chemung, Chenango, and Genesee Valley canals during these years, supplied thousands of sorely needed jobs and helped in the upstate area to cushion the blow of America's first great depression. Moreover these improvements, although not finally completed for another decade, facilitated an enlargement of the boats and a great increase in the tonnage carried over the canal.

The Erie tolls more than repaid all costs for its construction, enlargement, and maintenance, and all costs of its laterals as well, before tolls were abolished in the 1880's, but, as we have seen only in part, it contributed in many important ways to the development of a string of upstate cities.

Those who are aware of the establishment and spread of New York State railroads during the years following 1835 may suppose that the canal, opened only a decade before, had a short creative life and a long period of decline. The herculean services of the Erie continued, however, for several decades even after the first railroad lines were drawn into the New York Central in 1853. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* that year found from a study of trade statistics that all the railroads in the State together carried less than one thirteenth of the freight carried by New York State canals. The railways did soon monopolize the passenger trade, and by 1874 the New York Central's tonnage equalled that on the canal, soaring far above it during the next decade. The canal freight, particularly through-freight, continued nevertheless to mount during these years and retained a high level as far as tonnage was concerned throughout the rest of the century. Yet the old canal cities, except Buffalo and West Troy, were less and less interested in this later trade, and most of them, like Rochester, rejoiced when the route of the Barge Canal, which replaced the Erie in 1919, circled around the cities which had been only too glad to welcome the Erie into the very heart of town.

125TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL

by DOROTHY C. BARCK, *Librarian*

WITH A CHECKLIST OF VIEWS AND MAPS ON DISPLAY

by ARTHUR B. CARLSON, *Curator of Maps & Prints*

THE Society inaugurated its current Erie Canal exhibition on October 26, 1950, a century and a quarter from the day when the entire length of New York's Grand Canal was ceremoniously opened to navigation from Lake Erie to the Hudson. The momentous event was suitably celebrated in 1825, and contemporaries recognized the engineering, economic, political, and historical importance of that first artificial waterway to the Great Lakes. During the Canal's construction, and soon after its completion, men active in that great work recorded its history and discussed credit for its achievement. Contemporary pamphlets, broadsides, manuscripts, maps, and pictures of the Canal's early years are preserved by our Society, and some of them, now on view, present the history of the Canal's inception, building, and early operation.

The first exhibition case honors those farsighted men who were early interested in improving New York's naturally good water communication, and who, soon after the beginning of the 19th century, proposed an artificial canal across the State. Small portraits of fifteen of them, from a drawing by John L. Morton, are shown on an engraving in Dr. David Hosack's *Memoir of De Witt Clinton* (1829), which contains so much material about the Canal and its proponents. A small oil portrait of one of them, Christopher Colles (by John Wesley Jarvis), hangs beside his proposals for improving inland navigation between Albany and Oswego (printed by Samuel Loudon in 1785). Nearby are Frederic De Peyster Jr.'s copy of *The Report of a Committee*

Appointed to Explore the Western Waters in the State of New-York; for the Purpose of Prosecuting the Inland Lock Navigation (Albany: 1792), and Dr. David Hosack's copy of the 1798 *Report of the Directors of the Western Inland Lock-Navigation Company*. That Company, incorporated in 1792, built three short canals, at Little Falls, German Flats, and Rome, but otherwise used the natural watercourses of the Mohawk and Wood Creek. Following James Geddes's 1809 report establishing the practicability of an artificial canal across the State, the New York Legislature appointed in 1810 a commission of prominent New Yorkers to explore an inland route from the Hudson to Lakes Ontario and Erie.

On October 8, 1811, these influential Commissioners addressed a letter to President Madison, requesting Federal aid for the State's canal project. That letter, presented to the Society by Mr. George A. Zabriskie, is signed by Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, Simeon De Witt, William North, Thomas Eddy, Robert R. Livingston, and Robert Fulton. Beside it is shown one of the printed circular letters sent by the Canal Commissioners on that same day to the Governors of all the States and Territories, requesting their coöperation in New York's canal undertaking. The letter, addressed to the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, was given by Mr. John E. Parsons, and it too bears the impressive signatures of those seven illustrious Commissioners.

The printed report of the Commissioners to the State Legislature, March 1811, was drafted by Gouverneur Morris, and favored an artificial inland route across the State. Their report of the following years strongly urged that New York begin canal construction on its own responsibility, Federal aid not being forthcoming. During the War of 1812, however, canal affairs were virtually at a standstill. At the close of the war, on December 30, 1815, a public meeting was held in New York City, which approved a memorial to the State Legislature favoring a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie. That influential Memorial

THE ERIE CANAL NEAR LITTLE FALLS, 1849

Detail from oil painting by William Rickarby Miller (1818–1893)

Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1949

was written clearly and forcefully by DeWitt Clinton, and a copy of it, in his own handwriting, occupies a deservedly prominent place in the exhibition.

Space allocation prevented showing two other manuscripts owned by the Society pertaining to that important meeting of December 30th: the original rough minutes, in Clinton's handwriting; and a letter from Canal Commissioner Thomas Eddy to Cadwallader D. Colden, dated the following day (December 31, 1815), telling about the success of the meeting, and of Clinton's having had to read his first rough draft of the Memorial, the fair copy having been mislaid. Space also prevented exhibiting more than four of the anonymous and pseudonymous controversial pamphlets relating to canals which were printed in the early 1800's.

Five Canal Commissioners were appointed in 1816 to adopt measures to effect communication between the Hudson and Lake Erie, by means of canals and locks. Their lengthy printed report (Albany: 1817) contains the results of thorough surveys and very detailed plans for a canal with seventy-seven locks. Canal construction (though only between the Mohawk and Seneca Rivers) was finally definitively authorized by the New York act passed April 15, 1817, which is shown in *The Official Reports of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, and the Acts of the Legislature respecting Navigable Communications between the Great Western and Northern Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean* (New York: 1817; also printed at Newburgh, 1817). This law, and other pertinent source materials from 1808, were brought together in two thick volumes, published at Albany, 1825, by authority of the State, entitled *Laws of the State of New York in relation to the Erie and Champlain Canals, together with the Annual Reports of the Canal Commissioners and Other Documents.*

The progress of canal construction, from the turning of the first spadeful of earth, near Rome, on July 4, 1817, to the completion in October 1825 of "an uninterrupted navigable communication from the great western lakes to the Atlantic ocean" is told largely through the printed *Annual Reports* of the Canal Commissioners, contemporary pamphlets, and lithographs in Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir . . . at the Celebration of the Completion of the New York Canals* (New York: 1825). Upon the successful completion of the middle section of the Canal in 1819, Elkanah Watson wrote a *History of the Rise Progress and existing Condition of the Western Canals in the State of New York from September 1788 . . .* (Albany: 1820). The copy exhibited was presented to Rufus King by Robert Troup, a supporter of Watson's claim to being the projector of New York's canal policy. DeWitt Clinton's reply, containing a history of canal affairs to October 1820, was published at Albany in 1821, under the pseudonym "Tacitus," in a pamphlet entitled *The*

Canal Policy of the State of New-York: delineated in a letter to Robert Troup, Esquire, denying that Watson was entitled to the exclusive glory of projecting the State's canal program.

The completion of the Erie Canal from Rochester to the Hudson was celebrated at Albany on October 8, 1823, when the lock-gates there were opened, and the first packet-boat, appropriately named the *DeWitt Clinton* passed from the Grand Canal into the Hudson. The detailed program for that auspicious day appears in a contemporary broadside. Another broadside printed in October 1823 illustrates the Canal's immediate effect on the development of north-central New York. Hezekiah B. Pierpont, of Brooklyn, advertised "New-York Canal Lands on Sale" at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, "every part of the tract being within one day's easy drive of the Erie Canal at the Village of Rome."

Upon the completion of the entire Canal in October one hundred and twenty-five years ago, New York State celebrated its achievement with appropriate ceremonies, from Buffalo to New York City. Chief among the Society's mementoes of that ten-day celebration is the original wooden keg in which water from Lake Erie was transported to New York Bay on the canal-boat *Seneca Chief*. That was the boat which carried Governor DeWitt Clinton and other dignitaries from Buffalo, which they left on October 26, 1825, the entire length of the Canal to Albany, with festivities at each town along the way. At the climax of New York City's celebration, on November 4th, the flotilla of the great aquatic procession formed a circle near Sandy Hook, and Governor Clinton ceremoniously poured Lake Erie water, from that very keg, into the Atlantic Ocean. The Society lent the famous keg for New York City's commemoration of the Canal's Centennial, twenty-five years ago.

Buffalo's celebration of the Canal's completion, on October 26th, is represented by a manuscript account of the ceremonies by Jesse Hawley, an early canal proponent, who was chairman of the Rochester delegation. It includes his address on the occasion.

SCENE ON THE ERIE CANAL

Oil painting by George Harvey (*c.* 1800–1878)

Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap, 1948

The engraved invitation card to the "marriage of the waters" ceremony at Sandy Hook, which was sent to Douw Ditmars Williamson, and the silk badge he then wore, were presented last year by his great-granddaughters, the Misses Helen and Julia Williamson. These are currently on exhibition, together with an engraved ticket for the ball in the Lafayette Amphitheatre on November 7, 1825, which concluded the City's Grand Canal Celebration.

Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir*, which contains both a history of the Canal and a most detailed account of its celebration, is opened at a lithograph of the fireworks at New York's illuminated City Hall, on the evening of November 4th. Several separate lithographs from that volume are shown, including two of the fire engines in the great civic procession through the city on that day, and the long Imbert lithograph of Archibald Robert-

son's representation of canalboats, steamboats, and sailing vessels in the aquatic procession. With them are the broadside of Samuel Woodworth's Erie Canal Ode, printed on a float and distributed as the parade proceeded, and the music, engraved by E. Riley, 1825, for Woodworth's "The Meeting of the Waters of Hudson & Erie."

The Society is fortunate in owning several examples of the medal, by Charles Cushing Wright, struck for the City Fathers to commemorate the Canal's completion, and presented to Federal, State and City officials, and to those who aided, and took part in, the City's celebration. These include the gold medal presented to Major General Andrew Jackson, and the white metal one given to the artist and engraver Asher B. Durand. With the medals are shown four boxes, made for them by Duncan Phyfe and Daniel Karr from cedar and maple transported from the shores of the Great Lakes on the canalboat *Seneca Chief*. Mr. John T. Lequier lent for the exhibition the Erie Canal medal in silver, which was presented in 1826 to his great-grandfather, Alderman John B. Taylor.

With the Canal in operation between Albany and Buffalo, it afforded economical transportation of goods, produce, and passengers between the Atlantic and the Middle West, and became a tremendous factor in the development of that area. Navigating regulations, toll rates, the operation of weigh locks, and the amount of tonnage carried during the Canal's first quarter-century of operation are shown in successive *Annual Reports* of the Canal Commissioners, in pamphlets containing *Laws, Regulations and Rates of Toll* in New York canals, and in the *Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor on the Canals of the State . . . 7th of February, 1851.*

Two models of canal freight boats of about 1850 are on loan during the exhibition: one made in 1889 by Orville Goble, lent by the Wayne County (Pennsylvania) Historical Society, the other made by Mr. Fred Schutz of Hawley, Pennsylvania, who kindly lent it.

Passengers' accommodations on packet-boats and details of

AQUEDUCT OVER THE MOHAWK RIVER ABOVE COHOES FALLS, 1826
From drawing by A. Duttenhofer reproduced in his
Bereisung der vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika (Stuttgart: 1835)

canal operation are described in such guide books as *The Fashionable Tour, An Excursion to the Springs* (third edition, Saratoga Springs: 1828), and *The Tourist, or Pocket Manual for Travellers on the Hudson River, the Western Canal* (fourth edition, Harper & Brothers, New York: 1835). There are exhibited also three canal packet-boat tickets, Schenectady to Utica, Utica to Syracuse, and Syracuse to Rome; and a broadside listing Rates of Fare of the Erie Canal Boat Navigation Company & Western Passage Boat Company, between Utica and Rochester, at four cents a mile, including board.

Passengers' actual experiences on canal boats, 1825–1835, are recounted by several Europeans in their published reminiscences of American travel. Accounts of the building of the Erie Canal, their journeys thereon, and sleeping arrangements on packet-boats are included in the Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach's *Reise . . . durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826* (Weimar: 1828), Volume I; in *Resa I Norra Amerika* (Nyköping: 1835), by a Swedish traveller, Carl August Gosselman; and in *Cinco Meses en los Estados-Unidos de la America del Norte* (Paris: 1836), by the Spanish director of the Havana Botanical Garden, Ramon de la Sagra, whose travel book was translated into French and published at Bruxelles in 1837. The *Travels* of Captain Basil Hall of the Royal Navy are shown opened at his

description of Lockport in June 1827, beside his *camera lucida* etching of the western end of the Canal. In her well-known *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, Mrs. Frances Trollope wrote of travelling from Schenectady to Rochester by packet-boat, which she left "fully determined never to enter a canal boat again, at least not in America." Scottish James Stuart, in his *Three Years in North America*, the English actress Fanny Kemble Butler, in her *Journal*, and the English author, Harriet Martineau, in her *Retrospect of Western Travel*, all mentioned the inconvenience of having to duck, lie down, or leave the upper deck, whenever the canal boat passed under one of the numerous bridges.

A series of pictures, in cases and framed along the walls, shows what these and other travelers saw along the Erie Canal, from 1823, when the eastern sections were opened to navigation, until after the Canal's first enlargement was declared completed in 1862. Half of the exhibition gallery is devoted to early prints and maps of cities, to illustrate Dr. Blake McKelvey's address on "The Erie Canal: Mother of Cities," which opened the exhibition and which is printed in this *Quarterly*. Wherever they are exhibited in the gallery, all the views of cities and canal scenes shown are listed hereafter in geographical order, from Albany, the eastern terminus of the Canal, to Buffalo on Lake Erie, with some general canal views and maps at the end.

ALBANY

Entrance of the Canal into the Hudson at Albany. 1823. Engraved by Rawdon, Clark & Co., after drawing by James Eights (1798–1882). 2.15 x 5.12 inches.

One of four views engraved in the folding "Geological Profile extending from the Atlantic to Lake Erie Taken 1822 & 3 under the direction of the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer by Amos Eaton." In [Amos Eaton,] *A Geological and Agricultural Survey of the District Adjoining the Erie Canal in the State of New York* (Albany: 1824), of which the copy displayed was presented to the Society in May 1824, by the Honorable Stephen Van Rensselaer, who served as Canal Commissioner 1810–1838. The "Geological Profile" is found also in Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir . . . at the Celebration of the Completion of the New York Canals* (New York: 1825) and the four engravings included as separate illustrations in *Laws of the State of New York in relation to the Erie and Champlain Canals . . .* (Albany: 1825), frontispiece and facing pages 264, 213 and 18.

"Albany, N. Y." About 1850. Lithograph by Hatch and Severyn, from drawing by John William Hill (1812–1879), printed by F. Michelin. 24.18 x 38 inches.

View of the city, with the Albany Basin in the foreground, filled with canal and river boats.

"Map of the City of Albany, 1850." By J. C. Sidney. Lithograph by A. Kollner, Philadelphia. 33.12 x 33.4 inches.

Showing eastern terminus of the Erie Canal and Canal Basin at the lower right, and the Albany Basin, lower center.

WEST TROY (WATERVLIET)

"Troy, N. Y., 1877." Colored lithograph, drawn and published by H. H. Bailey & J. C. Hazen, New York; lithographed by C. H. Vogt, Milwaukee; printed by J. Knauber & Co. 25.4 x 43.8 inches.

The lower middle portion shows the west side of the Hudson River, the lock connection between the Erie Canal and the Hudson, the State Basin, the Lower Basin, and the Canal continuing southward towards Albany.

JUNCTION (NORTH OF WEST TROY)

"Junction of the Erie and Champlain Canals." About 1830. Colored aquatint engraving by John Hill (1770–1850). 9.8 x 13.8 inches.

MOHAWK RIVER AQUEDUCTS

"Hölzerner Brück-Canal auf 26 Steinpfeilern über den Mohawk." 1826. Lithograph 2.6 x 6.1 inches from drawing by A. Duttenhofer in his *Bereisung der vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, mit besonderer hinsicht auf den Erie-Canal* (Stuttgart: 1835).

The Lower Aqueduct, about four miles above Cohoes Falls.

[Plan of the Upper Aqueduct, below Schenectady.] About 1820 (?) Plan or map indicating the Mohawk River, aqueduct with 16 piers, canal basins, feeder, and road to Schenectady. Watercolor 11 x 14 inches.

SCHENECTADY

"Map Exhibiting the Course of the Current from the Breaks in the North Bank of the Canal between Rotterdam and State Streets, in the City of Schenectady, at the Flood of March 13th 1832." Lithograph by T. Monk, printed by Packard Gavit & Co. 10.3 x 16 inches.

ANTHONY'S NOSE, BETWEEN FULTONVILLE AND CANAJOHARIE

"Travelling on the Erie Canal" [1825]. Engraving by Peter Maverick from drawing by Henry Inman (1801–1846) in *The Northern*

Traveller (published by Wilder & Campbell, New York: 1825; and in subsequent guidebooks). 2.12 x 4.15 inches.

LITTLE FALLS

"View of the Aqueduct Bridge at Little Falls." 1823. Engraving by Rawdon, Clark & Co. from drawing by James Eights (1798–1882). 3.1 x 5.13 inches.

On the "Geological Profile" in Amos Eaton's *A Geological and Agricultural Survey* . . . (Albany: 1824) and in Colden's *Memoir* (New York: 1825).

"The Grand Erie Canal at Little Falls, August 22, 1832." Watercolor 5.2 x 7.5 inches, by "H. S.," in a volume of sketches by an unidentified English traveller in New York, New England and Canada, 1831–1832.

[View of the Erie Canal near Little Falls, 1849.] Oil painting on canvas, 24.2 x 36 inches, by William Rickarby Miller (1818–1893), painted in 1884 from a drawing made by the artist, engraved in *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, July 1849. Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1949.

UTICA

"Utica, N. Y." About 1850. Lithograph by D. W. Moody, printed by F. Michelin. 22.10 x 36.3 inches.

Part of the Erie Canal may be seen in the upper left background, and in the center, the John Street and Genesee Street bridge over the Canal.

WHITESTOWN

"Map of the Town of Whitestown, Oneida County, New York, 1857." Surveyed and published by Benjamin A. Clark. Lithograph by Friend & Aug, Philadelphia. 36.14 x 51.14 inches.

Showing the route of the Erie Canal through the villages of Oriskany and Whitesboro.

ROME

"Map of Rome, Oneida County, N. Y., 1851." Surveyed and published by Henry Hart, New York City. Lithograph. 25.6 x 39.15 inches.

Showing the original Erie Canal south of Rome, and the Canal as rerouted through the city under the 1836 law.

SYRACUSE

"Syracuse, N. Y." About 1852. Lithograph by D. W. Moody, from drawing by Lewis Bradley. Published by Smith Bros. & Co., New York City. 21.8 x 35.1 inches.

View northwest over the city and Onondaga Lake, with part of the Erie Canal shown at the right.

WAYNE COUNTY

"Map of the County of Wayne." 1829. By David H. Burr. Engraved by Rawdon, Clark & Co., Albany, and Rawdon, Wright & Co., New York City. 21.4 x 17.12 inches.

Showing the Erie Canal passing through the villages of Palmyra, Newark, Lyons, and Clyde. Below the map are two columns of text and a table of statistics based on the 1820 Census.

ROCHESTER

"View of the Aqueduct Bridge at Rochester." 1823. Engraving by Rawdon, Clark & Co., Albany, from drawing by James Eights (1798–1882), 3.1 x 5.14 inches.

On the "Geological Profile" in Amos Eaton's *A Geological and Agricultural Survey* . . . (Albany: 1824), and in Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir* (New York: 1825).

This same view is represented on a blue Staffordshire pitcher by Enoch Wood & Sons, presented by Mr. Samuel V. Hoffman, 1921.

"Brück-Canal über den Fluss Genesee in Rochester." 1826. Lithograph from drawing by A. Duttenhofer, 1826, in his *Bereisung der vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* . . . (Stuttgart: 1835). 3.1 x 6.2 inches.

The first aqueduct over the Genesee at Rochester, completed in 1823.

"The Upper Falls of the Genesee." 1835. Lithograph by J. H. Bufford, from drawing by J. Young. 15.3 x 20.3 inches.

From the east bank of the river, looking northwest.

"Views on the Genesee in Rochester. Plan of the New Aqueduct, 848 feet long, now building (1838). . . ." Woodcut in Henry O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester* (1838). 3.2 x 5.2 inches.

"Rochester, from the West, 1853." Lithograph by D. W. Moody, from drawing by John William Hill. Published by Smith Bros. & Co., New York City. 23.13 x 39.11 inches.

Showing the Erie Canal in the left foreground, turning sharply eastward in the lower center and crossing the Genesee over the aqueduct completed in 1842.

"Map of Rochester from the latest Surveys prepared for the Rochester Directory, 1871." Published by C. C. Drew, Buffalo. Lithograph. 28.6 x 20 inches.

Indicating the route of the Erie Canal through the city and across the Genesee River.

LOCKPORT

"Process of Excavation, Lockport." [1821–1824.] Lithograph from drawing by George Catlin (1796–1872) in Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir* . . . (New York: 1825). 4.5 x 6.15 inches.

"Deep Cutting Lockport." [1825.] Lithograph from drawing by George Catlin (1796–1872) from Colden's *Memoir* (New York: 1825). 4.4 x 7.6 inches.

"Lockport from Prospect Hill." [1825.] Lithograph from drawing by George Catlin (1796–1872) in Colden's *Memoir* (New York: 1825). 4.4 x 7.6 inches.

Showing the original five double-combined locks.

"View of the Upper Village of Lockport, Niagara Co., N. Y." 1836. Lithograph by J. H. Bufford, from drawing by W. Wilson. 14.4 x 20.2 inches.

"Lockport, Erie Canal." Engraving from drawing by W. H. Bartlett (1809–1854) in *American Scenery* (London: 1840), Volume I. 4.4 x 7.2 inches.

View eastward, from above the locks, looking toward the basin in the Genesee level below.

BLACK ROCK

"Western End of the Erie Canal." 1827. From drawing by Captain Basil Hall (1788–1844) of the Royal Navy, in his *Forty Etchings made with the Camera Lucida in 1827 and 1828* (fourth edition, Edinburgh: 1830). Engraving by W. H. Lizars. 4.7 x 8.5 inches.

Showing the Canal north of Black Rock, to the right of and paralleling the Niagara River.

"View of the Village of Black Rock in 1823." Engraving by Rawdon, Clark & Co. from drawing by Thomas Hanford Wentworth (1781–1849) in the "Geological Profile" in Amos Eaton's *A Geological and Agricultural Survey* . . . (Albany: 1824) and in Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir* (New York: 1825).

BUFFALO

"Buffalo from Lake Erie." 1836. Colored aquatint engraved by William J. Bennett, from drawing by John William Hill. 15.15 x 24.8 inches.

"Buffalo." About 1853. Lithograph by J. H. Colen from drawing by John W. Hill. Published by Smith Bros. & Co. 23.13 x 39 inches.

Showing the Erie Canal at the left, and the protected basin in the foreground.

"Birdseye View of the City of Buffalo, N. Y." [1861–62.] Tinted lithograph, published by Charles Magnus, 1863. Printed in three sections and joined. 38.12 x 81.12 inches.

Showing the Erie Canal paralleling the Niagara River at the left, the slips connecting it with the protected basin in the foreground, and a number of canal boats and lake vessels.

[Erie Canal Boats, 1868.] Seen from the Genesee Street Bridge, Buffalo. Stereograph — 3 x 5.13 inches.

"Map of the Western Part of the State of New York . . . 1811." Compiled by John H. Eddy. Engraving by Peter Maverick, Newark. 11 x 21 inches.

Showing route of proposed canal across the state, with a profile of inclined planes.

GENERAL MAPS AND VIEWS

"Map and Profile of the Proposed Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River in the State of New York." 1817. Contracted by direction of the Canal Commissioners from the Maps of the Engineers in 1817. Engraving 15.1 x 67.4 inches. From *The Official Reports of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York* . . . (New York: 1817).

"Statistical Railroad and Canal Map of the State of New York." 1851. Compiled by R. S. Fisher, M.D., 1851. Published by J. H. Colton, New York City. Engraving, colored, 20.5 x 25.10 inches.

"Grand Canal." Part of a wallpaper bandbox, about 1825–1828. 10.12 x 23.8 inches.

Representing a small early canal boat being towed by one horse across a small aqueduct.

[Canal Boating about 1830.] Aquatint by John Hill (1770–1850). Uncolored proof: 9.8 x 13.8 inches.

A canal boat loaded with household goods is shown near the canal lock at the right.

[On the Erie Canal in Central New York.] Oil on canvas by George Harvey (*c.* 1800–1878). 15.8 x 20.8 inches. Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap, 1948.

Showing an early canal boat being towed across a small aqueduct, possibly near Pittsford.

"Canal Boats on the North River, New York." Woodcut from *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, December 25, 1852. 5.8 x 9.12 inches.

The accompanying text, on page 401, states that the view was "taken from Pier 1, East River."

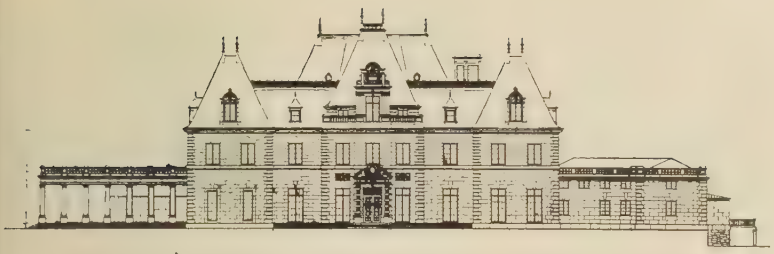
"Sunday on the Erie Canal." 1873. Woodcut from a sketch by Paul Frenzeny in *Harper's Weekly*, October 18, 1873. 9.2 x 13.6 inches.

Showing a canal boat captain relaxing with his family about him on the sunny deck of the *Sun Flower*.

ELEVATION FEATURING DOORWAY: OELRICHS RESIDENCE, NEWPORT, R. I., 1902

Built for Mrs. Herman Oelrichs; now owned by Mr. J. Edgar Monroe

The McKim, Mead, and White Collection



ARCHITECTS' DRAWING OF MACKAY HOUSE, ROSLYN, L. I., 1902

McKIM, MEAD AND WHITE: NEW YORK'S OWN ARCHITECTS

by Wayne Andrews, *Curator of Manuscripts*

NEW YORK, too many New Yorkers too easily forget, was not always a magnificent metropolis. Edith Wharton, who grew up in the not-so-distant Manhattan of the '60s and '70s, remembered the city of her childhood as a "cramped horizontal gridiron of a town without towers, porticoes, fountains, or perspectives, hidebound in its deadly uniformity of mean ugliness," and she confessed she found it baffling that "people who had seen Rome and Seville, Paris and London, could come back to live contentedly between Washington Square and Central Park." If, today, New York can't be dismissed by so indignant a reference to the wonders of the continent, no one deserves more of the credit than Messrs. McKim, Mead and White, the founders of that infinitely influential architectural firm which now, at the beginning of its seventy-second year in business, has deposited its archives in The New-York Historical Society.

The elevations, the floor plans, the letters to and from clients, these and the other memorabilia of the McKim, Mead and White exhibition now crowding the corridor of our library floor are, no matter how telling the documents may seem, no more than a reminder of the richness of the bequest, so vast are the archives

RESIDENCE OF W. G. LOW, BRISTOL, R. I., 1887

Present owner: Mr. Paul C. Nicholson

Photographed by Wayne Andrews, 1945

which the present partners, Mr. Lawrence Grant White, son of the late Stanford White, and Mr. James Kellum Smith, have entrusted to the Society for safekeeping. Numbering over 300 bundles of specifications, over 350 transfer cases and files, over 500 tubes of drawings, and over 250 glass negatives, the archives document nearly every aspect of the work of the firm from its founding in 1879 down to the present. By no means the least interesting of the drawings are those which survive from the early days, for McKim, Mead and White, surprising as this may seem to those who recall only their later work, began by designing those simplified shingled cottages which can never be omitted from the list of the masterpieces of modern architecture in America. Midway in their career, however, McKim, Mead and White fell under the spell of the Renaissance, and it was for their labors in that style that they became most famous.

But to say that McKim, Mead and White became famous is to mouth a platitude, for no architects in American history have enjoyed greater prestige than the partners of this firm, or secured more splendid commissions. If we disregard for the moment their achievements of national rather than local significance, such as the dictation of the architectural style of the World's Fair of 1893, the promotion of L'Enfant's plan for Washington, the sponsorship of the American Academy in Rome, and the restoration of both the White House and Jefferson's Rotunda at the University of Virginia, concentrating instead on their influence

DRAWING, *c.* 1875, OF UNIDENTIFIED HOUSE
By C. F. McKim
The McKim, Mead, and White Collection

on New York City, we shall be amazed at the number of buildings we think of as typifying Edwardian elegance which they designed. As for the exceptions, they were as likely as not the work of their followers, many of whom, like Philip Sawyer of York & Sawyer, the architects of The New-York Historical Society building, were trained in their office.

Even though the old Madison Square Garden has been pulled down, even though the Venetian palace of Tiffany and Company has been abandoned for a happier location higher on Fifth Avenue, and even though the grand ballroom of Louis Sherry's Restaurant has been altered to fit the requirements of the Fifth Avenue branch of the Guaranty Trust Company, so many buildings conceived by McKim, Mead and White are still serving their original purpose that New York City would be unrecognizable if ever the evidence of the firm's activity was erased. The babies spanked into breathing at Bellevue Hospital, the students racing to classes at Columbia, the commuters trudging homeward through Pennsylvania Station, all of these, like the clubmen sucking their cigars in the quiet of the Harvard, University, Metropolitan, Century, Lambs, Harmonie, Advertising, and Racquet & Tennis Clubs, have McKim, Mead and White to thank for the architectural scenery in which they live at least part of their lives.

Back in 1879, when Charles Follen McKim, William Rutherford Mead, and Stanford White opened their office at 57 Broad-

CASINO, NEWPORT, R. I., 1881

Photographed by Wayne Andrews, 1948

way, no one had given too much thought to the problem of the proper architectural setting for Manhattan, even if Edith Wharton wasn't the only one who shuddered over the bleakness of the innumerable brownstone fronts. To say that architectural taste was confused tells only half the story, for the mansard roofs still spreading across the nation, and the naive replicas of the Venetian Gothic structures John Ruskin was said to have admired—these spelled chaos to young men as sensitive and as expertly trained as McKim, Mead and White.

McKim, whose mother was a Quaker and whose father was a fearless abolitionist, had studied as intensely as either parent could have hoped, both at Harvard and in Paris, and in America he had enjoyed the inestimable privilege of working in the office of H. H. Richardson, the great architect who designed Trinity Church, Boston, and forced the coming generation to recognize the merits of simplification in masonry construction. Mead, the brother of the sculptor Larkin Mead, and the brother-in-law of

CASINO, SHORT HILLS, N. J., 1882

Photographed by Wayne Andrews, 1945

the novelist William Dean Howells, had gone from Amherst straight to Florence where he pondered the wonders of the Renaissance, and if White, whose father was New York's own authority on Shakespeare, had not had a college education, he had traveled abroad with McKim and Augustus Saint-Gaudens after winning, like McKim, an enviable reputation as one of Richardson's draftsmen. Such was White's insatiable curiosity that once, on a walking trip through New England in 1877, he had made a special study of the then utterly neglected beauties of our colonial architecture.

As one might imagine, the early work of these three young men was influenced by the example of H. H. Richardson, but too much must not be made of this, for McKim, Mead and White rarely made use of the Romanesque precedent which the older architect so much admired, nor did they share his savage delight in rough ashlar. Fonder of shingles than of boulders, they remembered Richardson's teachings when they came to study

NORTH END OF VILLARD GROUPING, NEW YORK CITY, 1885

Originally occupied by H. C. Fahnestock, A. H. Holmes, and E. D. Adams, whose houses adjoined that of Henry Villard to the south. Present office of Random House, and R. C. Archdiocesan Headquarters

Photographed by Wayne Andrews, 1947

and restudy the outlines of their first houses. These were a restful sight in the restless 1880's.

One of the most daring of the early works of McKim, Mead and White was the triangular shingled cottage McKim planned in 1887 for W. G. Low at Bristol, R. I. This may well be the most modern, that is, the most appealing to sensitive modern architects, of all the buildings credited to the firm, but it is only one of the many examples dating from this period to blast the legend that modern architecture in its beginnings was exclusively a Midwestern phenomenon. More fanciful that the Low cottage was the now-dilapidated house and stable (1882) of Cryus Hall McCormick at Richfield Springs, N. Y. More romantic was the

betowered mansion (1885) of C. J. Osborn jutting out over the Sound at Mamaroneck.

To linger over all the achievements of the firm in the early 1880's is impossible, but it is obvious that no history of American architecture could afford to slight the casinos at Newport, R. I. (1881), Short Hills, N. J. (1882), Narragansett Pier, R. I. (1884), and Stockbridge, Mass. (1886), or the summer homes of Isaac Bell, Jr., Samuel Colman, and Robert Goelet, all of which were built in Newport in 1883.

In McKim's drawing of the Stockbridge Casino, the charming cupola tells us that he was not unaware of Georgian precedents, and indeed, as early as 1885, two years before the Low house was completed, the partners had come to the conclusion that it might be wise to abandon the personal, inventive style of which the Low house was to be the supreme example, in favor of an eclectic approach, which meant that henceforth they would follow in the footsteps of the great architects of the Renaissance in Italy, and of those architects in France, England, and elsewhere who spread the Italian gospel throughout the world. Since it is often glibly assumed that McKim, Mead and White and the other leaders of the eclectic movement were no better than archaeologists painstakingly resurrecting the monuments of other centuries, it may not be amiss to point out that the great eclectics were not plagiarists, but artists inventing in an older tradition. For the merest glimpse of the Villard house, that magnificent mansion which marked McKim, Mead and White's change of heart, is enough to satisfy anyone familiar with the triumphs of Italian architecture that here is no copy of Bramante's Cancelleria in Rome—but a design in Bramante's manner to suit the ambition of an American railroad king. Now rededicated to the needs of Random House and of the Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church, the Villard house will, we trust, be preserved for all time no matter how closely skyscrapers crowd Madison Avenue between 50th and 51st Streets.

Though Joseph M. Wells was the draftsman usually credited

COURTYARD, E. D. MORGAN RESIDENCE, 1891
WHEATLEY HILLS, L. I.
Photographed by Wayne Andrews, 1949

with conceiving the outward appearance of the Villard house. the partners of McKim, Mead and White were no less gifted in the use of the Renaissance vocabulary, as was evident to the Bostonians who hailed McKim's plans for the Boston Public Library (1887), to James Gordon Bennett, Jr., who boasted of White's design for the old Herald Building on Herald Square (1894), and to J. P. Morgan himself, who gloried in the Morgan Library (1906), even if he did complain that the building wasn't really his, but McKim's.

In the countryside McKim, Mead and White were no less triumphant than on the city streets, for no sooner was John Jacob Astor charmed with the casino White imagined for the Astor estate at Rhinebeck (1898), than Mrs. Herman Oelrichs, daughter of James Graham Fair of the Comstock Lode, was seized with the ambition of building an even more superb evocation of the Grand Trianon at Newport (1902). Less famous but no less

RESIDENCE OF JAMES L. BREESE, SOUTHAMPTON, L. I., 1906
Present owner: Mr. Charles E. Merrill
Photographed by Wayne Andrews, 1950

significant than John Jacob Astor's casino and Mrs. Oelrich's palace by the sea were two commissions on Long Island, one of which, the delightfully rambling manor house which McKim laid out at Wheatley Hills for E. D. Morgan, grandson of Governor E. D. Morgan (1891), has recently been altered beyond recognition. The other, the amazingly spontaneous colonial home White invented for James L. Breese at Southampton (1906), has not been harmed by broker Charles E. Merrill, the present owner.

These and many other commissions were splendid indeed, but one must not believe that the partners lived a life of utter ease once their reputation was established. Not every client was as genial as Robert Walton Goelet, who wrote White in the midst of his struggles over the Metropolitan Club that it was "a d— good thing McKim did sit on you, for I expect you will rise like a rubber ball."

Clarence Mackay, while willing to go to almost any expense to gratify Mrs. Mackay's longing for a country house at Roslyn worthy to be compared with the château of Maisons, was occasionally stricken with doubts. "In regard to the remaining mooseheads which you strongly advise me to buy, and of which I understand you made a hurried inspection, you seem to forget the main point, viz: the price," Mackay once notified White. "I know that this is a very small matter to you, but I look upon it in an entirely different aspect." Before long of course, Mackay was reassured, just as the clients of spirited architects have usually been reassured. "Although it may be a calamity to you," White reminded Mackay in 1900, two years before the house was finished, "you must acknowledge that, in the end, you will get a pretty fine château on the hill, and with the exception of Biltmore, I do not think there will be an estate equal to it in the country." This was the estate in which the Mackays welcomed the Prince of Wales in 1924. Today only the gate house and the ruined gardens tell of White's hopes; the mansion itself was demolished at the end of the Second World War.

To trace all of the achievements of the firm since White died at 52 in 1906, McKim at 62 in 1909, and Mead at 83 in 1928, to discuss in detail such landmarks as the Post Office, the Municipal Building, the Statler and the Savoy-Plaza Hotels would be beyond the scope of so brief a sketch as this. But enough perhaps has been said for anyone to appreciate that if any architects are entitled to be remembered as the architects of New York, the dignity belongs to none other than McKim, Mead and White.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Yankee Science in the Making. By Dirk J. Struik. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948. xiii + 430 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Yankee ingenuity is a well-known term; this might be said to have been the beginning of science in the New World. Today, American science leads that of all other countries. It was not always so, for there was very little of it in this country until after the beginning of the 19th century. American science had a late beginning and progress was slow at first. Its birth took place in New England, in the form of Yankee ingenuity as a means of providing the needs of the early settlers. It was there that the scientific thought in America took root and grew in genial soil.

In this treatise, the author covers a broad field—the history on this side of the Atlantic of the sciences as a whole—in a complete and comprehensive manner. He begins with the story of the men who first landed on the shores of this new land. Possessing little knowledge concerning life in the wilderness, they were forced immediately to call upon their ingenuity or else perish. There was at first no science in their way of life, only toil to provide home, clothing, and food and to protect themselves from the elements and savages. The mother country provided little assistance to these early pioneers, for they were expected to live off the land, and this they did by learning practical crafts and improvising for what they lacked. Hence came the Yankee ingenuity. Their lives were hard and the austerity of the Church ruled their every thought and action. They became self-sustaining, depending on the mother country for only the luxuries they desired. Shipbuilding became one of the earliest crafts, to provide vessels for fishing. Later ships were launched for trading with England; exporting raw materials and importing finished goods. Then whaling came into existence as a trade to supply fuel to the colonists. The resulting seafaring men, shrewd and fearless, introduced new practical methods for navigation. A merchant class developed in the cities of New England, whose wealth played an important part in founding centers of learning. But as yet there was little science to be found among the teachers in these colleges.

It was not until after the birth of the New Nation that science became part of the curriculum of these institutions. Even in medicine there were no schools until immediately before the Revolution. The growth of scientific thought increased soon after the independence of the colonies. Medical science became a necessity and the natural sciences developed as adjuvants to it. Scientific thought was not slow in appearing in engineering and the mechanical arts. The population having diffused throughout the New England States, facilities for transportation were developed.

Good roads and canals opened up new areas to factories and manufacturing increased. Commercial interests were not alone stimulated, since it is found that leaders appeared in the many fields of the natural sciences. And so science continued to grow.

The author presents the reader with a most complete and authentic story of New England's gift to the sciences. All of this is compressed into the one volume under review and, in consequence, is unfortunately so concentrated that the reader often becomes confused. Nevertheless, this volume should have a place on the library bookshelf of those who desire a source of historical items concerning early American science.

The New-York Historical Society FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D.

Frontier Justice. By WAYNE GARD. (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. xi + 324 pages, illus. $3.75.)

Here is a story of the wild and woolly West that beats the tar out of anything we have read. It gives the highlights and the lowdown on sheriffs, Indians, cowpunchers and horse thieves in a way that is as truthful as it is refreshing.

Let's take the sheriffs first, since we have chalked them down that way. The pick of them all was Thomas J. Smith, born in little old New York. Nobody gave him a Chinaman's chance when he was appointed marshal of Abilene, Kansas, which boasted more desperadoes and cutthroats than any other town on the continent.

When Big Hank, one of Abilene's toughest men, swaggered up with his six-shooters conspicuously showing and asked, "Are you the man who thinks he's going to run this town?" Tom Smith replied, "I've been hired as marshal and I'm going to maintain order and enforce the law." "What yer goin' to do about that gun ordinance?" Hank demanded. "I'm going to see that it's obeyed and I'll trouble you to hand me your pistols now." That was businesslike, and when Hank refused, he got a terrific blow on the jaw, his guns were taken from him, and he was ordered to leave town pronto.

Another instance of the same treatment by Smith was when Wyoming Frank, a big, burly man from a cow camp, insolently refused to give up his gun. The marshal, quick as a flash, knocked him down, relieved him of his gun, and when he gave Frank just five minutes to get going, he got. The crowd that had gathered was speechless, but realizing that Tom Smith meant what he said, they turned in their guns, raised his pay, and as a result, Abilene, Kansas had a regular marshal for five months, which in those days, if anybody should ask you, was a long time.

Abilene's next marshal was Wild Bill Hickok, a colorful figure, handy with a gun, and a good shot. But he was not the man his predecessor was. The City Council fired Wild Bill as a "fancy Dan"; they put up a monument to Tom Smith.

With the cattle business moving westward, Dodge City soon became the Mecca, as with its saloons, dance halls, and gambling houses going full blast, it offered the excitement craved by cowhands. Six-shooters blazed without much interference until Wyatt Earp came along and helped the town to live down its reputation as the "Gomorrah of the Plains." He didn't stay long however, and Dodge City then entrusted its law-enforcement to two trigger-happy brothers, Ed and Bat Masterson, who had been deputies of Earp's. Ed, though a courageous officer, did not hold down the job a great while before he was killed trying to arrest two desperadoes. Bat, another stylish guy like Wild Bill Hickok, kept order after a fashion, but failed at reëlection as sheriff.

Other sheriffs—Patrick Floyd Garrett, who killed Billy the Kid; Commodore Owens, an Apache County sheriff, who had to kill three outlaws while arresting one horse thief; Bill Tilghman, a fearless officer quick on the draw and an expert shot, who never killed anyone he could take alive and who never hesitated in risking his own life in making a capture—kept the West free from outlaws for fifty-one years. So, Mr. Gard says in his preface, "orthodox law-enforcement often lagged behind the need to punish troublesome offenders," but what could be done about it? When we stop to think, it has been less than a hundred years between the scalp knife and the courtroom.

And just how bad were the Indians? We hear a lot about "the only good Indian is a dead Indian," but *Frontier Justice* does not make it all one way. For example, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts urged that the settlers hunt Indians with dogs as they did bears; Virginia and Pennsylvania offered bounties for Indian scalps; Indiana proclaimed a reward of $50 as an "encouragement to bravery of our fellow citizens"; and other States did likewise. Moreover, "Degenerate whites were seducing Indian squaws and filling the camps with half-blood children." Is there any wonder that the Indians resented it? And when three hundred of them died from eating spoiled food issued by the Government agent, what did they get? Only taunts and rebuffs. They were told "if they're hungry let 'em eat grass." Well, this brought on a Sioux uprising and before it was subdued six hundred whites were killed—sort of a tomahawk justice. The agent was slain in front of his store, and when his body was found his mouth was stuffed with grass. That's the way it was—no quarter asked and none given—a scalp for a scalp. As H. H. Halsell says in *Cowboys and Cattleland*, "White men take Indians' scalps with as little compunction as the Indians take theirs." Buffalo Bill once wrote a letter to Ernest Thompson Seaton, confessing, "I never led an expedition against the Indians but what I felt ashamed of my flag, my country and my government. They were always right and we were always wrong. They never broke a treaty and we never kept one."

Horse thieves, "necktie parties," and Vigilantes are other matters taken up in *Frontier Justice*, and there is reference to a trial where "a

drunken lawyer addressed a drunken jury on behalf of a drunken prosecutor. A drunken judge, having delivered an inebriated charge, a fuddled verdict of acquittal was delivered." But maybe the South has a case too. Remember the colored lady who complained, "Dey ain' no justice in dis heah land. Ah got a divorce from ma ole man but de Judge in renderin' his decision gib him de chillun—and dey ain' hisin."

New York City GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

American Historical Views on Staffordshire China. New, Revised and Enlarged Edition. By ELLOUISE BAKER LARSEN. (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1950. xxx + 317 pages, illus. $15.00.)

An event of unusual interest to students and collectors of Anglo-American historical Staffordshire is the publication of a new and revised edition of *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China*, by Ellouise Baker Larsen.

No one in this country is better qualified to undertake a task of this nature. For more than thirty years Mrs. Larsen has been a student and collector of these wares, having at present one of the largest collections in this country. As a further qualification she has conducted researches in the Staffordshire district of England and, in 1939, published the most authoritative book ever written on the subject. In addition to a thorough knowledge of the subject, Mrs. Larsen possesses many of the qualities of a born investigator—patience, an intuitive sense of values, and a willingness to study source material whether in libraries, museums, or private collections. For more than ten years Mrs. Larsen has been at work revising and enlarging her earlier work on the subject. Few have the knowledge, time or patience to undertake a task so exacting. That she has achieved a large measure of success there can be no doubt.

Each recorded item in the latest edition of her book indicates what it is—(plate, platter, sugar bowl, etc.)—its size, its color, source of view, title of engraving, by whom the engraving was made, when and where it was published, followed by a brief description of each view represented. One has only to multiply this descriptive data by the 796 items listed to gain some idea of the prodigious labor involved.

The value of the book is enhanced by a biographical sketch of each of the 38 potters who made tableware for the American market, including a list of all known views by each potter, and the date of their manufacture.

Each of the 15 borders used in the decoration of these wares is described and illustrated. This is an aid to the identification of the maker where the potter's name is not given.

The total number of items listed is 796 compared with 695 in the 1939 edition. This means that more than a hundred additional items have been discovered and are now recorded in the present edition. It has been further augmented by 44 additional illustrations, four full-page and in color, plus

several that have been substituted for less important ones appearing in the earlier edition.

A brief illustrated chapter on the process of transfer printing adds to its informative feature as does a biographical list of the 68 artists referred to in the text. Innumerable footnotes point to the source of information given in its pages. An alphabetical list of illustrations plus seven pages of general index makes it easy to locate any item.

The prefatory note to the first edition by the late Homer Eaton Keyes is reproduced in the revised edition. This is an important contribution to the historic background of the subject. There is also an interesting foreword by Alice Winchester, the present editor of *The Magazine Antiques*, and by Charles Messer Stow of the *New York World-Telegram and The Sun.*

Altogether *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China* is a book that is certain to take its place as the standard textbook on the subject. It will be a welcome addition to the library of every student of American historical Staffordshire.

New York City ARTHUR H. MERRITT

A QUARTETTE OF INDIAN AND FRONTIER BOOKS

Pontiac and the Indian Uprising. By HOWARD H. PECKHAM. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. xviii + 346 pages, illus., maps, biblio., index. 8vo. $4.50.)

Martyrs of The Oblong and Little Nine. By DECOST SMITH. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948. 310 pages, ports., illus. 8vo. $4.00.)

Champlain, the Life of Fortitude. By MORRIS BISHOP. (NEW YORK: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. 364 + vii pages, illus., maps. 8vo. $4.00.)

Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House. By FRANK G. SPECK and ALEXANDER GENERAL. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xiii + 192 pages, 16 plates, index, illus. 8vo. $4.00.)

For this reviewer at least, the history and lore of the Indian and the story of white exploration and frontier settlement will always have greater interest than any other phase of our country's history and so it is a satisfaction to be able to say a word of high praise for each of the four books before him. They include the first adequate lives of a great Indian and a great pioneer, the true and tragic story of the last of the Mohicans, and the elaborate ritual of the Iroquois as practised in the Cayuga long house.

When Francis Parkman first published his *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* in 1851 the most important original manuscripts on the subject were unknown to him. When Mr. Peckham was with the Clements

Library he found many of these collections in his custody or in nearby libraries and from this material he not only reinterpreted the importance of Pontiac and his native uprising but gathered the scattered facts of the life of the great Indian leader for the first time.

In this delightfully written but at the same time accurate and well-documented biography the Director of the Indiana Historical Bureau has rescued the great Ottawa chief from oblivion, has retold the story of the greatest Indian uprising against the whites and has made more nearly complete the little-known personal history of the great chief. The book has excellent illustrations from contemporary sources, splendid modern maps, an adequate bibliography and index, and is beautifully printed. This book puts its author in the top bracket of historians and biographers of the pioneer West.

Apparently no one except the Moravian historians ever cared what happened to the last of the Mohicans until the artist, DeCost Smith, who had already made a reputation by his portraits of famous Indian chiefs, set himself the task of unraveling the long and toilsome trail of these unfortunate Indians whose chief misfortune seems to have been that they forsook their ancient warlike ways and became meek and peaceful Christians. They were converted by the Moravians and the sad story of their later adventures and massacres was recorded many years ago by Loskiel, Heckewelder, De Schweinitz and the other Moravian historians, but has never been retold for present-day readers until now. Mr. Smith not only read all of the contemporary literature, as we know from his nine pages of notes, but visited the sites of the various settlements of the Indians, collected photographs, and copied the few remaining portraits of the heroes of his story so that his record could be complete. And as a record of the cruelty of renegade whites as well as Indians, this volume is devastatingly complete, for it traces the misadventures of these poor praying Indians as they were driven from southern New York through Pennsylvania to the Ohio country and final extinction between the years 1710 and end of the War of 1812. This book tells the story plainly and clearly, earnestly if not eloquently, and brings all of the facts together into a single volume for the first time. It is unfortunate that such a useful book should have no index.

It seems strange that we have had to wait all this time for a biography of Samuel de Champlain, the man who tried in vain to make America a permanent French colony. But this life of the greatest of all early Canadian explorers and settlers was worth waiting for. Written by the Chairman of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at Cornell, the author has given us a sound piece of scholarship in which every known bit of material on Champlain, manuscript or printed, here or abroad, has been judiciously used. But his biography becomes literature through the author's poetic imagination and his ready wit. There is much here on New York State as well as Canada, and Champlain's battle with

the Iroquois in 1615 was to have results which lasted down to the time of the Revolution. The author tells the general reader for the first time that our Society owns Champlain's precious astrolabe, lost for over 250 years but now safe from further harm, and as a result various Canadian organizations have recently tried to recover this choice relic of the old explorer which, however, is in New York to stay. This is biography at its best, for it is complete, accurate, and attractively written, as was to be expected, for whatever its versatile author attempts he does well.

A generation ago we had a group of great anthropologists and students of Indian linguistics and folklore and we have recently had cause to rejoice that the breed had not entirely died out, for excellent work is still being done by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian (in spite of foolish and drastic cuts in its appropriations), in the American Philosophical Society, in the New York State Museum, and through the aid of the William C. Morrow Research and Publication Fund of the University of Pennsylvania.

Under the auspices of the latter fund Dr. Frank G. Speck, Professor of Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Cayuga Indian, Alexander General of the Six Nations Reservation, Ontario, have just published the very important *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House*, thus making sure of the scientific record of one more of the fast-disappearing rituals of the Iroquois, which would soon be lost if it were not for such a combination of red and white scholarship as this.

Here, with appropriate ethnological illustrations, we find five chapters on the religious framework of Cayuga Indian culture, including its history, symbolism, mythological characters, its ritual dances, foods, instruments, and dress. This section is followed by the account of the complete Midwinter Ceremony including the rites of the medicine societies, the ceremonial and worshiping rites, the condolence rite, and a description of 22 different social dances. Though not a large book, it is packed with Indian lore, some of it of real beauty, and it is a thoroughly sound piece of scholarship as well. It is of great importance that trained anthropologists such as Dr. Speck be aided in their efforts to record the civilization of our native Americans before it is lost, and so the Morrow Fund has performed a splendid service in making this most interesting volume available to the student.

The New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

Peter Cooper: Citizen of New York. By Edward C. Mack. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, [copyright 1949]. xvi + 432 pages, including biblio., notes, index, 19 illus. on 8 leaves. $5.00.)

In his prize biography of 1935, of *Abram S. Hewitt, with Some Account of Peter Cooper*, Allan Nevins declared that "no adequate biography of Peter Cooper has yet been written. The fullest book is

Thomas Hughes's *Life and Times of Peter Cooper* (London, 1886), highly eulogistic in tone and lamentably inaccurate; it was suppressed by the family. The best short sketch is Rossiter W. Raymond's *Peter Cooper* (Boston, 1901)." Raymond states his own case—that "during the last decade of Peter Cooper's life" he "enjoyed some degree of intimacy with him as professional adviser and traveling companion, and also, incidentally, as consulting engineer of the firm of Cooper and Hewitt, and manager of a department of the Cooper Union." He had been selected by the Cooper family to write his short biography and undertook it "as a labor of love." The family "furnished abundant material . . . including, besides his own published utterances, the notes of the stenographer to whom Mr. Cooper, in the last years of his life, dictated his reminiscences." Raymond depended also much on Hughes and his inadequacies and inaccuracies; and according to C. Sumner Spalding's *Peter Cooper: A Critical Bibliography of his Life and Works* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1941), Raymond inadequately treated Cooper's economic theories.

Dr. Mack, having critically surveyed all previous biographies and items listed by Spalding; and having pursued further researches in newer nooks, has produced an objective and definitive biography of Cooper, undertaken at the request of Dr. Edwin S. Burdell, Director of Cooper Union, and its trustees. He says that "fate has been unusually capricious in denying Peter Cooper adequate biographical recognition during the sixty-five years since his death." Spalding also had come to like conclusion, thus: "It seems most remarkable that a man of so many significant deeds, of such renown in his own time, . . . should never have been the subject of a first-rate biography. Yet biographical sketches are to be found in abundance. The story gets told inadequately over and over again. But no one has so far [1941] ventured to chronicle his life with trustworthy thoroughness, let alone truly definitive treatment." This hiatus, this reviewer can assert, has now been fully overcome by Dr. Mack. It is the book that every librarian should recommend, and everyone interested in the subject should prefer to read.

This work is divided into three parts: The first part from 1791–1828 is "The Ladder of Success," or climbing years, during which the ancestral background is investigated. In 1801, aged ten, Cooper invented a washing machine to lighten the burdens of his mother's wash for her nine children; and at fifteen he was apprenticed in New York to a coachmaker. The second part from 1828–1859 concerns "A Man of Affairs and Dreams." The third part from 1859–1883 takes Cooper through the Civil War, the period of reconstruction, and his entrance into politics. In Dr. Mack's own "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 385–387) he discusses the nature of the sources he used critically. Here we have the best criticism of the primary manuscript sources—"two autobiographies, an eleven-page fragment in

Cooper's own hand about 1866, and the lengthy account dictated in 1882" to a stenographer, and referred to as the *Reminiscences*. In the use of these Mack reveals particularly his critical acumen. He also offers new reasons why the Hughes biography was suppressed (p. 385). It is good, therefore, that this biography by Dr. Mack has not been censured, but has had official recognition at the source. The "Notes" (pp. 388-422) are the critical apparatus of the work, for which scholars will be thankful. The index is a simple non-analytical one of personal and place names, titles, and a few topics, and it is not complete; for example, Zachos is omitted altogether.

Peter Cooper died in the early morning hours of April 4, 1883. At nine that morning the newspapers were already bearing obituaries of his demise; and soon the City garbed itself in mourning. The Common Council had wished to have the body lie in state in the City Hall; but instead it lay in casket before the pulpit in All Souls Unitarian Church at 20th Street and Fourth Avenue, where, during six hours, twelve thousand persons of every estate viewed the remains. The streets were lined with spectators along the route of the funeral procession on the day of the obsequies.

The name of Peter Cooper has been known during his lifetime and to this day as that of one of the foremost citizens of New York, and his ideals for free public education are yet visualized in his finest monument, the Cooper Union at the head of the Bowery, where thousands of young men and women, by day and by night, have been educated without charge for practical careers in the sciences and the arts. From its foundation, and for some decades thereafter, the Cooper Union was the only institution that afforded such free education at night in the region now known as Greater New York. The City had not then even high schools in its free day schools, and these public schools could graduate only a limited number to the only free college—the College of the City of New York. The concept of this benefaction of Peter Cooper is all the more remarkable, because he "never had more than a year or so of schooling" himself, and during his entire life "could not spell the simplest English correctly." Spalding has shown that Cooper's productivity in publications required him "to seek editorial assistance" in everything published under his name, and that his ghost-writer was a cultured Greek, whom Cooper engaged as his Curator of the Cooper Union and professor of elocution, John Calivergos Zachos.

The present reviewer was a beneficiary of Peter Cooper's educational institution in 1882 to 1886, and during his last year studied elocution in the Saturday evening class of Professor Zachos. He also took part in the funeral cortege from Cooper Union to the church where the body lay in state before the pulpit. The students were given front center-aisle seats for the ceremonies, after which they solemnly marched by the casket to

view their benefactor, each depositing a sprig on it. These students had each a mourning crape tied around his left arm. This reviewer's crape is now in The New-York Historical Society.

Jamaica, L. I. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

History, Reminiscences, Anecdotes and Legends of Great Sodus Bay, Sodus Point, Sloop Landing, Sodus Village, Pultneyville, Maxwell and the Environing Regions, the Ridge Road and the 4-Horse Post Coaches of Pioneer Days. By WALTER HENRY GREEN. (Sodus, N. Y.: [Privately printed for the author by Henderson-Mosher, Inc., Rochester, N. Y.], 1947. x + 309 pages, index [6] pages, illus. 8vo. $2.50.)

This is a horse-and-buggy history of a horse-and-buggy town about 25 miles from the similar village in the next county where the reviewer was born. It is an honest, enjoyable, and historically valuable bit of local history, and if the other small towns of the country would do as well we would have an extremely interesting and useful historical blanket for the entire nation.

The author tells us how it all happened. "In the summer of 1940 some young fellows, all of whom were pupils in the primary department of Sodus Academy in the late 1860's . . . returned to the scenes of their youth and by chance falling in with one another one afternoon, they exchanged reminiscences and renewed memories of boyhood days. They enjoyed it so much that they formed an anecdote club the individual members of which henceforth in this narrative will be referred to as: Ex-Editor, Ex-Merchant, Ex-Student and Raconteur." Raconteur was the oldest of the group and was a descendant of the pioneers of the town, as every good local raconteur should be, and each of the others contributed his share of the anecdotes and reminiscences which went into the history of this charming community on the south shore of Lake Ontario not far from Rochester.

The first five of its 16 chapters set the stage and sweep together the crumbs of early history to be found in the larger histories of Western New York. Then follows a well-told chapter of "legends, stories and murders" and another on the Battle of Sodus Point, a minor episode of the War of 1812 which looms large when seen through local spectacles, especially those of a grandson of one of the defenders of the town who found a bullet hole in his hat when he got home. Two of the defenders died, several others were wounded, and the town was burned by the invaders. After some locally interesting poetry we come to half a dozen excellent chapters, the real meat of the cocoanut, which were obviously the joint work of the members of the Anecdote Club, drawing on romantic but reasonably accurate and extremely entertaining memories. Here we see the horse-and-buggy days through the eyes of the men who

drove the horses and sat in the buggies, presumably with their best girls at their sides.

Chapter 10 is largely devoted to a careful history of the four-horse stage lines of Western New York not to be found elsewhere and on pages 293–295 there is the only known account of the Blue Lights or Blue Light Federalists who, by burning blue light signals at night, indicated to the British fleet in Lake Ontario which communities were unguarded and might be raided with impunity.

Of course this little book is invaluable to any native of the Sodus Bay region, but it is also good general social and economic history and it contains some excellent folklore not previously recorded. The Anecdote Club and its Raconteur are to be congratulated on an excellent performance. In spite of a few factual errors in the early chapters, the main part of the book which they wrote from their own knowledge is excellent history delightfully told by a nice quartette of old fellows who had a lot of fun and performed a valuable service in the doing of it.

The New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

The Livingston Family in America and Its Scottish Origins. Compiled by Florence Van Rensselaer. Arranged by William Laimbeer. (New York: 1949. 413 pages, authorities and references, index. $20.00.)

While the title might indicate that this is a complete history of the family, this very excellent volume contains only the lines of the two Roberts. The first part (77 pages) is composed of the Scottish ancestry of John Livingston, D.D., (1603–1673, or 1672), including the Royal Stuarts, the Scottish and the Saxon kings. The second part (218 pages) is composed of the descendants of Robert Livingston (1654–1728), son of the Rev. John Livingston. The third part (61 pages) is composed of the descendants of Robert Livingston, "the nephew" (1663–1725).

The book contains a very concise genealogy of the lines mentioned, bringing them down to date, including the daughters' lines. Among these are the Astor, Bayard, Clarkson, Delafield, de Peyster, Hamilton, Jay, Pell, Schuyler, Ten Broeck, Van Kleeck, Van Rensselaer, Van Wyck, and other families. There is very little biographical information, but vital records are quite complete. It forms an admirable supplement to the several old books on this line.

The index appears to be complete except that the names of wives are entered only under their maiden names. Arranged in the approved numerical form by generations, the book is easy to use, and is a fine piece of printing, on very good paper, and with a pleasing buckram binding. A list of fifty references is also given.

The Long Island Historical Society Edna Huntington

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

September 19: Installation of High School Loan Exhibitions: "When Old New York Was Young" in James Madison High School and "From Meadow To Metropolis" in Thomas Jefferson High School.

October 7: School Art League Program, two films: "Sittin' Pretty" and "Young America Paints." A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "Prelude To War."

October 10: Installation of High School Loan Exhibition, "When Old New York Was Young," in New Utrecht High School. Dexter Hall reopened.

October 14: High School History Program, "How Early America Lived," illustrated talk by Miss Pless, and a feature film, "Drums Along the Mohawk." A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "The Nazis Strike."

October 18: A private showing for friends of Mrs. Waldron Phoenix Belknap of the Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., collection of early New York portraits, silver, and miniatures.

October 21: School Art League Program: "Making Faces" by Myron Waldman. A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "Divide and Conquer."

October 25: Lecture for members and friends, "The Erie Canal: Mother of Cities," by Dr. Blake McKelvey and private showing of a special exhibition commemorating the 125th anniversary of the opening of the Erie Canal. (Exhibition to continue through March 31.)

October 27: Installation of High School Loan Exhibition, "From Meadow To Metropolis," in Prospect Heights High School.

October 28: School Art League Program: "Survival of the Craftiest" by Miss Pless. A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "Battle of Britain."

November 1: Meeting of the Society of American Historians.

November 4: High School History Program, "The Great California Gold Rush," by Miss Pless, followed by a feature film, "Stagecoach." A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "War Comes to America."

November 9: Installation of High School Loan Exhibition, "When Old New York Was Young," in Lafayette High School.

November 11: A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "Desert Victory."

November 14: Lecture for members and friends, "A Naturalist in Changing New Zealand," by Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy, illustrated with color motion pictures.

November 18: A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "Battle of San Pietro" and "Memphis Belle."

November 25: A Film Story of Ten Years, showing "The True Glory."

November 29: Meeting of local historians of the metropolitan area.

December 2: High School History Program, "Statues Can Talk," by Miss Pless, followed by a feature film, "Centennial Summer." A Film

STORY OF TEN YEARS, showing "Fury in the Pacific" and "Japan Surrenders."

December 6: Annual St. Nicholas Festival for members and friends, including a talk, "Cavalcade of Toys," by Dr. Larry Freeman, a collation of Dutch Christmas goodies, music and a private showing of a special exhibition of early American toys from the collection of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy. (Exhibition to continue through April 30.) Installation of the High School Loan Exhibition, "From Meadow To Metropolis," in Christopher Columbus High School.

December 9: A FILM STORY OF TEN YEARS, showing: "Picture in Your Mind," "San Francisco, 1945," and "One World or None."

December 11: Installation of High School Loan Exhibition, "When Old New York Was Young," in Midwood High School.

December 12: Meeting of the New York section of the National Council of Jewish Women.

December 15: Wreath-placing ceremony by the Bolivarian Society of the United States at the bust of Simon Bolivar.

Except for the alcove containing pottery and glass, the Folk Arts Gallery on the second floor of the north wing was closed for dismantling on October 10th to make way for the construction of three period rooms, furniture and paneling for which have been received from Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy of Westbrook, Connecticut and her brother Edmund Astley Prentis of New York. Upon completion, the rooms will consist of a 17th-century American living room, dining room, and bedroom completely furnished with choice examples of the early American cabinetmakers' art. The rooms will be given as a memorial to Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr., mother of the donors. More concerning this new installation will appear in the *Quarterly* for April. It is expected that a considerable portion of the material formerly exhibited in the Folk Arts Gallery will be placed on display elsewhere in the building.

Also on October 10th, Dexter Hall, which had been closed for two years, was opened to display a newly installed permanent exhibition prepared by Mr. Koke pertaining to 18th-century New York City. Although not completely finished, this gallery forms a colorful continuation to the adjoining 17th-century New York Gallery and gives an informative history of the early city through the media of paintings and prints, three-dimensional objects and association pieces, and easy-to-read labels.

The Society was again featured on television when Miss Pless appeared as guest on the WJZ-TV Market Melodies program on November 2d. She exhibited and commented upon wearing apparel, personal and household effects of the 19th century. Mr. Carlson exhibited old New York views over station WJZ-TV on December 19th and two television programs featured the Murphy toy collection.

Two sessions of a New York University course on "The Museum and

the School" were held at the Society on September 28th and December 1st in which Mr. Wall discussed school-museum problems as encountered here. He was also guest in an interview on Jenny Lind with John Savage of the WNYC "Around New York" program on September 19th.

A Columbia University class on "Resources and Methods of the American Historical Society Libraries" is again meeting here weekly, conducted by Mr. Vail. The course is given during the Winter session of each year and is open to a select group of graduate students.

Mrs. Carrie R. Carns has been appointed to the staff to occupy the position of Cataloguer of Maps and Prints left vacant by the resignation of Miss Roberta Paine in September. Mrs. Carns comes to the Society with many years experience from Columbia University, The New York Public Library, and the Office of War Information.

Among future activities for members and friends are lectures on McKim, Mead and White by Wayne Andrews, January 9, Old Sturbridge Village by Dr. Earle Newton, February 6, and "Tall Tales the Totems Tell" by Dr. Douglas Leechman, March 6. A Spring series of 10 Saturday motion picture programs on Nations of the United Nations will run from March 3d through April 5th.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

NEW Testament (in Dutch) which belonged to Mrs. Robert Rutgers (Elizabeth Beekman); 647 18th-century letters, legal and business papers, principally of Nicholas Bayard of New York City; his letter book, 1763, and receipt book, 1743–1755. *Gift of Misses Margaret Bayard Baldwin and Elizabeth Rutgers Baldwin.*

Fifty-five papers of John Hathaway (1753–1818) of Hudson, N. Y.; 48 letters to Theophilus Elsworth Beekman (1790–1858) of Hudson, N. Y.; two photographs of Beekman home on Warren Street, Hudson; deeds and other legal papers relating to estate of Theophilus Beekman; 28 letters to and from Miss Maude Beekman. *Gift of Mrs. Donald Born.*

Collection of 2,800 American and European bookplates; collection of invitations, menus, programs and badges, 1913–1936. *Gift of Mr. James W. Brown.*

Twenty-nine account books and blotters, three letterpress letter books, correspondence, bank vouchers, other business papers, of New York brokerage firm of George P. Butler and Brother (Arthur W.), 1898–1911. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur W. Butler.*

Two wash drawings by W. H Low, donor's uncle—*Holiday Windows*, 1870, and *Becalmed on the Hudson*, 1871. *Gift of Mrs. R. S. Butler.*

Letterpress copy of letter to Commodore Isaac Chauncey, dated Navy Department, August 31, 1812, authorizing him to take control of Lakes Ontario and Erie. *Gift of Mr. Clarence M. Chauncey.*

Bronze lamp made by Baldwin Gardiner, New York City, 1827–1838.

which belonged to donor's grandmother, Mrs. Francis Augustus (Beals) Baker (1815–1897). *Gift of Mr. Dudley Davis.*

Invoice of goods bought of Thomas Hancock, 1762, by Captain Timothy Dwight, Jr.; 14 letters to Theodore Dwight and to Theodore Dwight, Jr., from John Quincy Adams, William Cullen Bryant, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Samuel F. B. Morse, John Howard Payne, and others; two Connecticut Carrier's Addresses, 1804, 1811; *The Child's Paper* (Shanghai, China), January 1881. *Gift of Misses Eleanor A. Ferris and Isabel S. Ferris.*

Seal ring which belonged to Francis Lewis (1713–1802), a New York signer of the Declaration of Independence and donor's great-great-grandfather; miniature of *Ann Eliza Gabriella Lewis* (Mrs. Horatio Gates Lewis); cameo brooch and other items of Lewis and Ludlow families. *Gift of Mrs. Guy Forbes.*

One hundred and forty-three photographs and 300 photostats of New York elevated railroads and horse cars, supplementing similar collection previously given by donor. *Gift of Mr. Norvin H. Green.*

Six filing cabinets containing the correspondence of Lieut. Gen. James Guthrie Harbord (1866–1947); crate of his army correspondence concerning the Philippines. *Gift of the Estate of General Harbord.*

Marble bust and pedestal of *General Winfield Scott* by Lamberto Vito; 1891 portraits of presidents of the United States, George Washington to Woodrow Wilson, in 15 volumes, including 713 prints of Washington and 261 of Lincoln. *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esq.*

Two bound volumes and seven sheets of piano music; George Kingsley's The Social Choir (Boston, 1835); ten pictorial letterheads of American hotels, 1880–1894; certificate from the New York City Republican Committee to Arthur J. Slade as a poll-watcher at the November 6, 1894 election; United States passport to Cornelia Wheeler Strong Slade, 1901. *Gift of Mrs. John V. Irwin.*

Two gavels, said to have belonged to John Hancock and to William Henry Harrison. *Gift of Mr. John V. Irwin.*

Pedigree of Francis Titus Luqueer Lane (1853–1916), with ancestral lines of Lane, Van Zandt, Luqueer, Shiells, others; four letters from Charleston, Savannah, New York (1787–1806) by Alexander Shiells, donor's great-great-grandfather, to relations in Scotland. *Gift of Mr. John T. Lequier.*

Coachman's horn in wicker case; model of 84th Street Presbyterian Church made by donor's grandfather, James Irvin Murray (1825–1905). *Gift of Mr. Raeburn W. Jenkins.*

Handkerchief with embroidered outline of New York City and its points of interest. *Gift of Mrs. Bella C. Landauer.*

Four bank-note plates in original box, used to print bank notes for Bank of Rochester, N. Y. *Gift of Mr. Louis H. McDuffie.*

Lace and embroidered cap which belonged to donor's grandmother, Mary Powell (Mrs. Thomas Powell), for whom the steamboat *Mary*

Powell was named; four boy's dresses and bib which were worn by Tommy Powell, *c.* 1895. *Gift of Mrs. Herbert R. Odell.*

Three letter books of Joseph O. Osgood, Chief Engineer of the California Southern Railroad, dated San Diego, California, 1880–1882; typewritten copy of the journals, 1834–1844, of Ellen Devereux Sewall (later Mrs. Joseph Osgood), friend of the Thoreaus. *Gift of Miss Ellen L. Osgood.*

Sixty-five letters and documents of Radcliffe family of Rhinebeck, N. Y. *Gift of Mrs. C. V. N. Radcliffe.*

Two hundred and twenty-five volumes of the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *New York Tribune*, 1843–1916. *Gift of Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid, President of New York Herald Tribune, Inc.*

Submarine Warfare, Offensive and Defensive by Captain John Sanford Barnes, U.S.N., extra-illustrated by author with prints and manuscripts. *Gift of his daughter, Mrs. Francis Rogers.*

Eighty-seven sheets of music popular in early 1900's; 14 New York City "speakeasy" cards; 193 bookplates. *Gift of Mr. Abel I. Smith, Jr.*

Salary record book of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, New York City, 1907–1913; 32d Annual Report of the Hospital; five tickets for the Charity Ball. *Gift of Mr. George Hammond Sullivan.*

Flageolet made by A. R. Jollie, New York City, which was given to Mrs. Charles A. Bulkeley (Julia Neilson, 1811–1878), donors' grandmother, as a souvenir at Jenny Lind's first New York concert, September 11, 1850; engraved invitation to the ceremonies, November 4, 1825, to celebrate the Erie Canal's completion, sent to donors' great-grandfather, Douw Ditmars Williamson, and silk badge worn by him on the occasion. *Gift of Misses Helen L. Williamson and Julia B. Williamson.*

Spanish-American War uniform worn by donor's late husband, lieutenant, later captain, in 108th Regiment, N. Y. National Guard. *Gift of Mrs. Henry Wolff.*

Five large volumes, compiled and lettered by donor, of the *Historical Biographical and Pictorial Genealogy* of Wright, Forjas-Pereira, Draper, Gardner, and other families, with photostatic reproductions of portraits, maps, ancestral homes, and coats of arms; volume of caricatures of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War, reproduced in 1890–1891 by Charles Lennox Wright I, donor's father, by wet-plate photography and line etchings on zinc from Currier & Ives lithographs. *Gift of Mr. Charles L. Wright.*

Oil painting of the *Road Team—Winner of the Vanderbilt Gold Cup* by George F. Morris, 1917. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

Ten watercolor drawings of officers and enlisted men of the Hesse-Cassel Leib-Regiment of Infantry, which served in America with the British Army during the American Revolution, by Herbert Knoetel, 1950. *Gift of an Anonymous Donor.*